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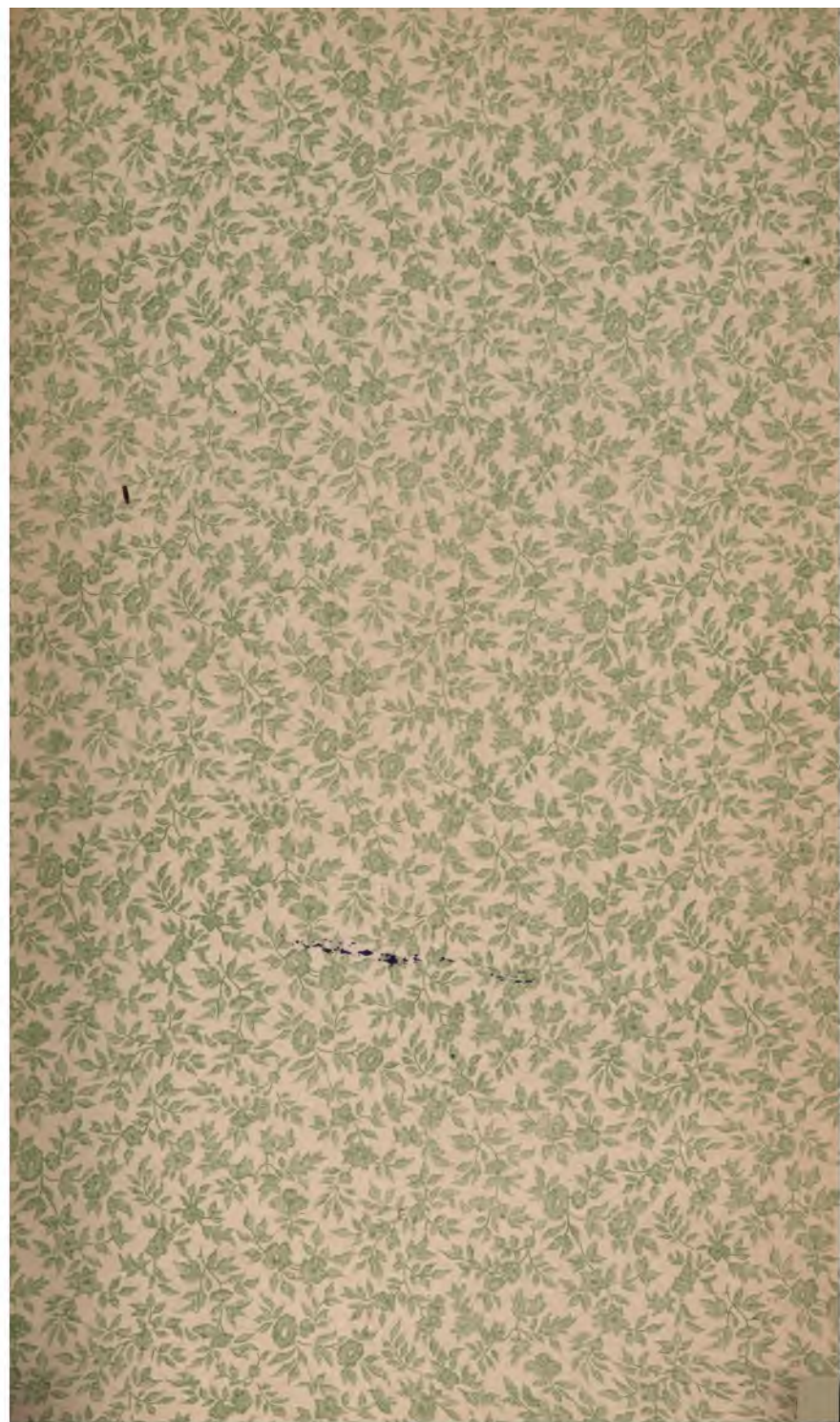
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AN ADDRESS

TO

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MEDICAL PROFESSION,

*From the British, Continental, and General Federation
for the Abolition of State Regulation of Prostitution,*

AND

*The National Medical Association (Great Britain and Ireland)
for the Abolition of State Regulation of Prostitution,*

ON RECENT PROPOSALS

TO INTRODUCE THE SYSTEM OF REGULATING OR LICENSING
PROSTITUTION INTO THE UNITED STATES,

WITH

THE HISTORY AND RESULTS OF SUCH LEGISLATION ON
THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE AND IN ENGLAND.

On behalf of the British and Continental Federation, &c.

(Signed,)

JAMES STANSFELD, M.P., *President,*

HYDE PARK GATE, W., LONDON, S.W.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER, 348, PARK ROAD, LIVERPOOL, } *Non. Secs.*

JAMES STUART, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

On behalf of the National Medical Association, &c.

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SCHOOL OF MEDICINE; LATE PRESIDENT OF THE LIVERPOOL ANTHROPOLOGICAL
AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

LONDON: F. C. BANKS, 2, WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.
LIVERPOOL: WM. BURGESS, "MEDICAL ENQUIRER" OFFICE, RANELAGH CHAMBERS.

1877.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

Thos. W. Raby & Co., Printers, Fowler's Buildings, 3, Victoria Street, Liverpool.



THESE

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TO

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The following Table may be useful to the reader:—

- ACTON, Mr.**, a great Author on Prostitution—an earnest advocate of the C. D. Acts in England, and influential in getting them passed.
- ANNISS, Inspector**, Police Inspector under the C. D. Acts in Plymouth and Devonport, who claims extraordinary moral results from the Acts.
- APPLEGARTH, Mr.**, a Member of the Royal Commission—an acknowledged Representative of the Artizan Classes and Trades Unions in England.
- BALFOUR, Dr.**, for many years the Head of the Statistical Department in the British Army.
- BUTLER, Mrs. JOSEPHINE**, wife of the Rev. GEORGE BUTLER, Principal of Liverpool College.
- DRYSDALE, Dr.**, Senior Physician to the Metropolitan Free Hospital, London—a prominent Author and Authority on Venereal Diseases.
- HARRIS, Captain**, the Head of the Special Police in charge of the working of the C. D. Acts in England.
- HÔPITAL DU MIDI**, the large Venereal Hospital for Males in Paris.
- „ **LOURCINE**, „ „ Females „
- „ **ST. LAZARE**, the Prison and Hospital to which Women are sent by the Paris Police under any charge connected with Prostitution.
- JEANNEL, Dr.**, a most prominent Advocate of the C. D. Acts, and Physician to the Venereal Hospital in Bordeaux.
- JOHNSTONE, Sir HARCOURT, Bart., M.P.**, the Parliamentary Leader of the Opposition to the C. D. Acts in England.
- LANCEREUX, Dr.**, a great French Authority on Venereal Diseases.
- LAWSON, Inspector-General**, Inspector of Military Hospitals in England, and responsible for the preparation for Government of Statistics of Disease in the British Army.
- LECOUR, M.**, the Prefect of Police and Head of the Department relating to Prostitution in Paris.
- MIREUR, Dr.**, a great French Authority on Venereal Diseases, and a strong Advocate for the C. D. Acts.
- MUNDELLA, Mr., M.P.**, a Member of the Royal Commission, M.P. for Sheffield, and an earnest Advocate of Measures for the benefit of the Working Classes.
- STANSFELD, JAMES, the Rt. Hon., M.P. for Halifax**, President of the Local Government Board in the late Liberal Administration—President of the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of State-Regulation of Prostitution—Leader of the Opposition to the C. D. Acts out of Parliament.

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CHAPTER I.

REASONS FOR PRESENTING THE ADDRESS—DR. MARION SIMS' PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR AMERICA CONSIDERED—DECEPTION NECESSARY IN INTRODUCING SUCH LEGISLATION AMONG FREE NATIONS—DR. GROSS' RECOMMENDATION OF DECEPTIVE TITLES—HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH C. D. ACTS—ASSOCIATION FOR EXTENDING THE ACTS TO THE WHOLE POPULATION—GROWTH OF OPPOSITION TO THE ACTS.

REASONS FOR PRESENTING THIS ADDRESS.

VARIOUS attempts have been made, and still continue to be so, to introduce into America legislation more or less analogous to that which has long prevailed on the Continent of Europe, and has been introduced into England within the last few years for licensing or regulating prostitution. But, with the exception of a very short period, and within the limited area of St. Louis, Americans have had no practical experience of the effects of such legislation, either morally, socially, or physically, while we have had an experience of it extending from thirteen years in England to nearly a hundred years in France. We, therefore, earnestly ask your attention to the following considerations, when you are being urged to enter upon a course, the consequences of which you cannot possibly foresee.

The adoption of such legislation by the United States has been urged upon them during the last few years with unusual earnestness, and under circumstances which deserve, and will doubtless receive, the most careful attention. Professor Gross has appealed to the medical profession and to the legislature in behalf of such legislation for the sake of public health; and at a large meeting of the medical profession, assembled in Philadelphia, in June, 1876, from all parts of the United States, a scheme was put forward by Dr. Marion Sims in favour of the introduction into America of Acts similar in principle to the English Contagious Diseases Acts, but with such modifications as might be called for by the social and political differences of the two countries.

DR. MARION SIMS' PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR AMERICA AND THE
OBJECTIONS TO IT.—*The essential features of Dr. Sims's proposals*, as
they appear to us who live at a distance from America, are:—

1st. *Their glaring character as class legislation*, for he proposes that every
sailor and *male steerage* passenger, married or unmarried, shall be
compelled to undergo a degrading examination before being allowed
to land in America, but the *officers* and the *cabin* passengers are to
be exempt from this degradation. The poor are to be examined,
the rich are to go free.

2nd. *Their manifest inutility*. If the officers and male cabin passengers,
and all female passengers, rich or poor, are exempt, the inutility of
examinations of only one portion, viz., the poorest of those on board
ship, is manifest.

3rd. *Their impracticable character*. In the British Army and Navy the
men revolted so strongly against such examinations, the medical
officers considered them so degrading to themselves and to the men,
and the commanding officers found them so lowering to the general
tone and *morale* of the men, that the examinations were discontinued
on the recommendation of Lord Herbert's Committee, which investi-
gated the subject. If this was the result in the case of men under
such discipline as soldiers and sailors in the Army and Navy, what
ground is there for supposing that men under no such subjection
would submit, either as sailors or *steerage* passengers. The door
would also be opened to wholesale bribery and corruption, or evasion
in giving the requisite certificates. It is perfectly certain that
the examination of free men, whether rich or poor, would
never be carried out except on paper, and that the proposal itself
could only have been made either in ignorance of the experience
of European countries, and notably of the British Army and
Navy, or else as a cloak for covering the compulsory examination
of women, by saying that men were equally liable by law to such
examinations. The more Dr. Marion Sims's proposals are examined
by the light of experience and a knowledge of human nature, the
more utterly impracticable will they be found. No one who had
any acquaintance with the history of legislative attempts to regulate
prostitution in Europe during the last fifteen hundred years, since
the reign of the Emperor Constantine, or with the confessions of

failure in France and Belgium during the last few years, and the methods recently proposed by the International Congresses of Paris, Vienna, and Brussels, would ever think of saying, as Dr. Marion Sims does in the conclusion of his pamphlet, "The thing is so simple, so self-evident, that I only wonder it has not been done long ago." He will find the question beset with difficulties at every turn, and the wider his acquaintance with the subject and its history in times past, the greater will be his distrust of legislation and police machinery, and the more strongly will he become aware that it is self-control, and not police-control, that must be relied upon for reducing prostitution or lessening its resulting evils.

CONCEALMENT OR DECEPTION NECESSARY IN INTRODUCING THIS LEGISLATION AMONG FREE NATIONS.—This is a striking and important feature, which cannot be illustrated in a more practical manner than by quoting the words of Professor Gross, when urging the adoption of this legislation by the United States, in an address delivered to the American Medical Association at its meeting at Detroit, June 3, 1874:—

"The only remedy for this evil (venereal disease) is the *licensing of prostitution*, a remedy which could not fail to be productive of vast good in promoting the national health. One very great difficulty in regard to the practical operations of a *licensing* law would be the passing of a Bill of an entirely unexceptional character. Great judgment and care would be necessary in the selection of a proper title. If this be offensive or *too conspicuous*, it would at once call forth opposition. My opinion is that the entire subject should be brought in, as it has been in England, under the head of the "Contagious Diseases Acts," a phrase not likely to meet with serious opposition, *as it would serve as a cloak* to much that would otherwise be distasteful to the public. The word "licensing" should not be used at all—"regulate" would be better, but even this has its objections."

The *thing* licensing is strenuously urged throughout by Dr. Gross, but the *word* is to be avoided because of the "clamour of the *wilfully ignorant and self-righteous*" persons who object to such a system on moral or any other grounds, and for whom Dr. Gross makes no attempt to conceal his scorn and contempt.

The same strong recommendation of licensing, in fact, and the same scornful and contemptuous indifference about the word "licensing," and the opinion of those who object to the system, is shewn by the majority

of a Committee of the New York Legislature, who have united in a recommendation of licensing prostitution. They say :—

"Whatever may be the odium incurred by the suggestion among honest people . . . the Committee are willing to take it upon themselves in recommending the regulating, or permitting, or, if the word be not deemed offensive, *the licensing of prostitution*. . . . As to the terms, the Committee are not tenacious. *If anybody's conscience can be soothed, his moral doubts assuaged, by dropping the word 'license,' and using the word 'regulation,' the Committee have no earthly objections, but that the objection to the substance of the proposition is an ill-founded one we cannot doubt.*"—*Woman's Journal, Boston, Feb. 26, 1877.*

As Dr. Gross refers with such approbation to the title of the English Acts, which complies exactly with his desire for one that shall not be "*too conspicuous*," and that will "*serve as a cloak* to much that would otherwise be distasteful to the public," we will give a sketch of the manner in which the English Acts first became law.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.—Venereal diseases being very prevalent in the British Army and Navy, and the customary habits and sanitary arrangements in both services conducing to idleness, profligacy, and filth* rather than to decency of conduct and personal cleanliness, the late Lord Herbert, at that time Secretary of War, devoted himself with great energy to raise the character of the men by inducements to good conduct, and by providing libraries and other intellectual sources of interest—having tennis courts and other places of amusements within the barracks, instead of leaving the men to seek for pleasure in the public house alone; by encouraging them to follow various industrial pursuits to which they were accustomed previous to enlisting, and by providing lavatories and other improvements in the barrack arrangements for cleanliness and decency, and other agencies. These were soon followed by most satisfactory results, and venereal diseases of all kinds began to fall rapidly throughout the Army. While this satisfactory improvement was going on under the operation of merely *moral* and *sanitary* influences, a Committee was appointed in 1862 to enquire

* FILTHY CONDITION OF THE WASHING MATERIALS IN H.M. SHIPS in 1864.—The surgeon of the "Edgar" says,—Navy Report, 1864, p. 18—"The lower deck messes, where men wash in large filthy tubs, with water filthy with soap and the accumulated dirt of their messmates, with no place of secrecy or retirement—it is not to be wondered at that they rarely wash privately, and I doubt not many men have ulcers often for days, perhaps for weeks, without being aware of them."

"The necessity of at once grappling with the filth, dirt, and disease which surrounds *the soldiers' barracks* and the *seamen's homes*."—Report Vener. Com., Dec. 15, 1863.

into the state of disease in the two services, and report, and this Committee reported in favour of some such *legislation* as that embodied in the Contagious Diseases Act of 1864 ; but although its recommendations were favourable to legislation of this nature, the enquiries and the report were practically unknown to the nation, and were almost equally unknown to the medical profession at large, which heard little of the subject, and looked upon it simply as a matter of Army management. For some time after this report was made no steps were taken to act upon it, and in accordance with the urgent advice of the professional promoters of this legislation that the subject should be kept as quiet as possible, lest "an ignorant and prejudiced opposition should arise," the subject was never publicly mentioned. About that time the nation was alarmed by the ravages of disease among cattle, and various Acts of the most stringent character were passed through Parliament under the title of Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, with which everyone was made familiar by the publicity given to the debates. Not so, however, with the passing of a Bill which affected interests infinitely greater and more sacred. At the end of June in the year 1864, at two o'clock in the morning, when very few members were present in the House of Commons, an Act was read for the first time, without discussion, and without previous notice of its important nature. It was read the second time a week afterwards, without a word of discussion. At nearly two o'clock in the morning, a select committee of state officials and promoters of the Acts was appointed without remark, and in three weeks it was read a third time and passed without one word of discussion, under the simple title of the "Contagious Diseases Prevention Act." So silently, so secretly, and so craftily was the whole thing managed, that not one member of Parliament in twenty knew anything about the Bill, and it was generally supposed by those who heard of it to refer to cattle. Even members of the Government were unaware of its nature and importance, and believed that it was a matter relating only to Army and Navy administration.

This Act, however, was found to be so imperfect in the eyes of its promoters that it was repealed, and another Bill to amend it was brought in in 1866, at one o'clock in the morning, on the 16th March. It was read a second time without discussion on the 22nd, and when it came again before the House, at two o'clock in the morning, on the

26th, a first attempt to discuss it¹ was at once stifled by the Government statement that "this was a Bill that was not to be publicly discussed," and when a proposal was made in committee that the magistrate before giving judgment upon the accused woman should require some evidence in confirmation of the policeman's statement, the proposal was negatived without discussion, and the Act was passed. In 1869 a further Act was passed extending the boundaries of the Act of 1866, and making its conditions still more penal upon the women subjected to its operation.*

Their success in thus carrying their measures encouraged the promoters of the legislation to greater boldness, and an Association was formed for the purpose of extending the Acts over the whole country. Meanwhile the real nature of these Acts became known to Dr. Bell Taylor and Mr. Worth, surgeon, of Nottingham, and the Rev. Dr. Hooppell and others who now, for the first time, made their real nature known to the public. Many, such as Miss Florence Nightingale, Miss Martineau, Mrs. Josephine Butler, Mr. Daniel Cooper, and other members of the London Rescue Society, who had feared the introduction of this system into England, and had even laboured against it isolatedly in previous years, were shocked thus to find that it had been surreptitiously introduced, and an opposition at once arose, which was sufficiently powerful to force the Government into appointing a Royal Commission in 1870 to investigate the nature and working of the Acts. And from this period the opposition has gradually gained strength, never having been so powerful as at the present time.

CHAPTER II.

NATURE OF THE LEGISLATION CONSIDERED—ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SYSTEM—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE WORKING OF THE ACTS, BOTH IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

America having had no actual experience of such legislation, we will briefly describe its character as it is illustrated by the French system of nearly a hundred years' duration, and the English system of only a few years existence, which latter is supposed to possess all the good features of the Continental systems, while it exhibits others peculiar to itself.

* See Hansard's Parliamentary Reports, collected in "Study of Sociology," by Herbert Spencer, pages 278, 279.

This is supposed to be the result of England's having had the advantage of Continental experience, which has enabled her to avoid weaknesses and sources of failure that it is said have hindered the success of the system on the Continent.

THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS SYSTEM WHEREVER IT IS IN FORCE, ARE THE FOLLOWING, BOTH ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE AND IN ENGLAND.—All the ordinary securities against mistaken or malicious accusations of women are swept away, and perfectly innocent women are placed in the power of practically irresponsible policemen, on a charge involving their character and future reputation more seriously than any that could be brought against them. Instead of the accuser being obliged to prove the truth of his accusation, the accused woman is obliged to prove her innocence of a charge which, whether true or false, from its very nature, must be injurious, if not fatal, to her reputation; and she is at the same time deprived of almost every safeguard provided for the protection of other accused persons.

OBJECT OF THE SYSTEM.

The whole object of the system is to “**make prostitution healthy**” (Dr. Diday); or, as the British Royal Commission stated in its Report (sec. 13), “**so far to control the conduct of prostitutes, as to render the practice of prostitution, if not absolutely innocuous, at least much less dangerous.**” This object is to be secured by selecting prostitutes, and detaining in hospital prisons those who are diseased, and allowing only the healthy to ply their evil trade; but as there is no legal definition of a “prostitute,” and disease is often communicated by persons who are in no sense whatever “common” or “notorious,” the system is directed not only against those who unquestionably belong to this class, but also against every woman who may be **suspected** of practising prostitution. Therefore, the amount of evidence required before enrolling a woman on the register of prostitutes must, from the nature of the case, be very slender; and all the Continental methods of procedure, the provisions of the English Acts, and those proposed for the United States, agree in this particular:

that they sweep away all reasonable guarantees against virtuous women being enrolled on insufficient evidence, or in consequence of mistaken or malicious charges, or against women who may have lapsed from the strict paths of virtue being forced into the indiscriminating herd of common prostitutes.

IMPROVEMENT OF MORALITY NOT CONTEMPLATED BY THE C. D. ACTS.—In the English Acts on this subject, there is not a word from first to last in the direction of checking the amount of prostitution, of preserving decency in the streets, or of saving young girls or women from falling into the ranks of prostitution. The whole of their provisions (with the exception of providing a chaplain for the hospitals) are, first—to search for women who may be suspected of incontinence; second—to bring them, by persuasion or compulsion, under the power of the special police; third—to subject them, whether diseased or healthy, to constant periodical instrumental examinations; and lastly—to send those who are diseased to hospital, and to set those who are healthy free, and at unrestrained liberty to pursue their evil traffic.

In many of the towns under the Acts there has been an improvement in the behaviour of the prostitutes in the public streets, and the advocates of the Acts do not cease to proclaim this as being their result, and to claim credit for them as moral agents, though there is not a word in the Acts relating to solicitation or indecency of behaviour, or empowering the special police to interfere with the women whatever may be their conduct, provided they go up regularly for examination. This question is fully considered hereafter in the section on the moral evils resulting from this legislation, and it will suffice here to say, that it is the magistrates and the ordinary local police who have produced this improved decency in the streets, which is equally manifested in the towns not under the Acts: and that Lecour specially alludes to this feature of outward decency in Paris, and says, that although there may be outward decency, there is 'a constant increase of clandestine prostitution—that "their number is legion," and they are everywhere at the great danger of public health and public morals.

POWER IS GIVEN TO THE POLICE, AT THEIR OWN DISCRETION, TO CHARGE WOMEN WITH BEING PROSTITUTES.—As there is no legal definition of a "prostitute," the police both in England and on the Continent, use their own judgment as to the women to be included under this

title ; and include (according to their varying interpretations of the term) every grade of women, from those about whose common and shameless prostitution there cannot be a doubt, to women who sometimes go astray from the paths of virtue, though they may be generally earning an honest living by work ; and even young girls who may have appeared under suspicious circumstances,* but have never fallen from virtue. And as we have already shewn, the proposal in Committee of the House of Commons to require evidence confirmatory of the policeman's statement before convicting a woman of being a "common prostitute," was rejected without discussion, and under the English Contagious Diseases Acts there is no necessity for the accusing policeman to bring any witness whatever to confirm his own word. All that they require is—not that the policeman shall *prove* that the woman is a "common prostitute," but that he shall satisfy a single magistrate that he (the policeman) has "good cause to *believe*" that the woman is one, according to his own interpretation of the term, whatever that may be. In carrying out the law some magistrates insist on knowing what the "good causes" are; others accept the policeman's oath ; but in no case is it necessary to prove a distinct act of prostitution.

WOMEN URGED TO CRIMINATE THEMSELVES.—By the English Acts a woman when accused by the police, whether rightfully or wrongfully, is forthwith urged to criminate herself by signing what is called in the Acts a "voluntary submission," which is simply a printed form contained in the Acts† to the effect that she will go periodically to the surgeon for examination, which is made by the use of instruments, though this is nowhere made known to her beforehand.‡ If she asserts her inno-

* See case of Caroline Wybrow, p. 14.

† The following is a copy of the "voluntary" submission form :—

THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS, 1866 to 1869.

I, *A.B.* of _____, in pursuance to the above-mentioned Acts, by this submission, voluntarily submit myself to a periodical examination by the visiting surgeon for [*Portsmouth, or as the case may be*] for _____ calendar months from the date hereof.

Dated this _____ day of _____ 18 ____ .

Witness, _____ (Signed) *A.B.*

X. Y.,

Superintendent of police for _____ [*or as the case may be.*]

[The blanks are filled up by the police officer, who usually enters the word "twelve" before "months," the woman being called upon to sign or make her mark.]

‡ The character of these examinations is such that nothing but their necessity for relieving some forms of disease could render them tolerable to the moral sense of the public

cence, or for any other cause refuses to sign this "voluntary" submission, she is summoned before a magistrate, and whether she is present or not at the hearing of the case, he has the power to order that she shall be enrolled upon the register of public prostitutes. If she signs the submission without being summoned before the magistrate the result of her simple promise to attend the surgical examinations is that she is at once enrolled on the police register of public prostitutes, and becomes liable to all the penal clauses in the Acts. She is from this time liable to imprisonment with hard labour if she neglects to attend these instrumental examinations as frequently as the examining surgeon desires, whether she is diseased or healthy, or even if pregnant. Whatever change may have occurred in her circumstances or habits of life is immaterial, and she is still liable to this punishment, unless she has been officially removed from the register, as she cannot quietly cease from prostitution and escape the penalties of neglecting the examination. The signing of the "submission" does not take place under any safeguard that the woman understands what she is doing; but when once obtained the woman's fate is sealed, as having thereby acknowledged herself a "common prostitute."

ILLUSTRATION OF THE PROVISIONS AND WORKING OF THE C. D. ACTS.
CASE OF CAROLINE WYBROW, OF CHATHAM.*

Caroline Wybrow, aged about 19 years, living in the same room with her mother, earning her living honestly by hard work, keeping company with one soldier, always home at an early hour at night, was called on by the metropolitan Inspector of police and charged with being a common prostitute, and was ordered to go up for examination.

or of the medical profession. They are sometimes submitted to by virtuous women for the relief of actual disease when no other means will suffice. But their periodical enforcement upon a woman, whether diseased or healthy, to ascertain whether she may pursue her calling of a prostitute with safety to her profligate companions, is an outrage upon woman's nature that nothing but familiarity could render tolerable to the society by which it is permitted, or the medical man by whom it is practised. The examinations are of a character that it is impossible to describe, and that it is revolting to think of in connection with the object for which they are made.

* Communicated to the Editor of this Pamphlet by the girl herself and her mother, in the presence of a neighbour, and of two ladies, two eminent lawyers, and a gentleman well-known in Chatham for his benevolence. Since that time, confirmed on oath in the manner prescribed by Act of Parliament, and communicated to Her Majesty's Home Secretary, the Rt. Hon. R. A. Cross, M.P. NOTE.—This case is merely one out of many that might have been given. It has been selected because it has occurred so recently, and because of the great care with which it has been authenticated.

Refused to go—said she “was not one of that lot,” was threatened by the Inspector with 3 months in Maidstone Gaol—said she would rather go to gaol than be examined—had always been a good girl—Inspector went away repeating his threats. Persuaded by her mother to go to the Doctor if the Policeman came again, for it would clear her character, and she would go with her. Inspector did come again. Agreed to go, and went. Before seeing the Doctor the Inspector read over, as fast as he could read it, something which she did not understand, and told her to sign her cross as she could not write. Did so, and was taken before the Doctor. Said she had always been a good girl. Refused absolutely to be examined. Was locked up in the Government hospital as “a refractory” patient, and kept in bed, on tea and dry bread, for four days as a punishment. Was repeatedly urged by the matron and doctor to submit to the examination. At length agreed, on the promise of the doctor that no instruments should be used. Was laid back in the examining chair, and one doctor put his arm over her chest and held her down while the other examined her. Gave her so much pain that she struggled and fell off the chair and hurt herself. Was helped up, and the doctor said, “Well, now you can go home. You have told the truth. You have not been a ‘bad girl.’” She was in fact a virgin. Was taken to the matron’s room and had as much as she could eat, and when she went out had five shillings given to her, which she understood to be “hush money.” The mother added, when the girl was not present, that she had never been the same girl since; she had been hard and wilful; she could talk about nothing after she came out of the hospital except the stories the “girls” used to tell one another when the matron was not in the ward: was quite a changed girl.

As a result of the communication made to him, the Home Secretary instituted an enquiry into the circumstances of the case. The answer of the police has not been officially published, but it is known to be that the young woman lived in the same house with prostitutes, which is strictly true; for she lived in a very poor part of the town, and occupied an attic room of a large house, sleeping on the same straw bed with her widowed mother, while one or more prostitutes occupied part of the lower portion of the same house, which furnished the police with their “good cause to believe” that she was a “common prostitute,” which satisfies all the requirements of the Acts, and authorised her being subjected to the outrages she suffered.

CASE OF JANE BOODLE, AFTERWARDS FEATHERSTONE.—The following case, taken from the police reports in the *West Kent Herald*, relates to Canterbury, also under the Acts, and illustrates the manner in which the penal clauses of the Acts operate even after the woman has left the neighbourhood and married respectably :—

Jane Boodle was charged before the magistrates at the Guildhall in Canterbury with being a common prostitute and not submitting to examination. John Whelan, the inspector of police, swore to seeing her under circumstances which left no doubt in *his mind* that she was a person of *immoral character*, though in cross-examination he said *he had never seen her solicit men and had never known her to visit a bad house*. Her counsel, therefore, argued that no evidence had been adduced shewing that she was a “common prostitute” (the only class of women mentioned in the Acts). Mr. Fielding—the government prosecutor—said *the Acts only needed the magistrates receiving the oath of the inspector that he had good cause to believe the woman to be a prostitute*, and that the same be substantiated to his satisfaction. The mayor said the magistrates were satisfied that the requirements of the Acts had been proved, and an order for her to be examined every fortnight for twelvemonths was made. The woman declared she would not attend, let the consequences be what they might : and she left the district and went to the Rescue Society in London, which received her into one of its houses, and ultimately provided her with a situation. After remaining in the situation for some months and gaining the respect of her employers, she accepted an offer from a respectable mechanic and married him. Meanwhile the Inspector, anticipating that she might return to Canterbury, obtained a warrant for her arrest. A week after her marriage she did return to Canterbury, in company with her husband, and *while walking in the street, having her husband's arm, she was arrested by the police and carried to the police station and placed in a cell, it being about nine o'clock on Saturday evening*. Her husband followed her and *produced her marriage certificate*, but she was kept locked up all Sunday, and was hurried off to Maidstone Gaol early on Monday morning, without giving her the chance of appeal, as the magistrates were not yet sitting; her only offence being *her refusal to submit to the examinations a year before, having never been in the district again during the interval, and having married respectably in the meantime*. The

whole of the above treatment of this woman was in accordance with the provisions of the Act, and she and her husband were entirely without remedy.—*West Kent Herald*, April 28, 1870.

INCREASED DIFFICULTY IS EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN IN ESCAPING FROM THE CONDITION OF PROSTITUTION; for when a woman is once inscribed on the official roll of public prostitutes, whether she has previously been a shameless and open prostitute, or her fall into this class has been recent and under the influence of casual temptation or necessity, her removal from the registration, and her release from its consequences can only be effected by a formal official process, which presents obstacles that are inseparable even from the most lenient official system. The woman cannot quietly leave her life of prostitution without comment, and enter upon a new life without record of the past. She has been registered in the police books as a public prostitute, and nothing can remove that blot upon her reputation; and she must also go through a series of formalities before she can escape from the immediate penal consequences of the registration. This is in part illustrated by the case of Jane Boodle, referred to above. Another, and, in our eyes, a most serious consequence of this legislation, is that the registered women appear to lose all sense of prostitution being wrong. They frequently style themselves "Queen's women," and "Government girls," and assert that they are as much the Queen's servants as the soldiers or sailors, or the Government would not take so much pains to keep them in health. They are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than formerly, and receive higher pay, and either as a consequence of these inducements, or of the difficulty of escaping above mentioned, they continue as prostitutes much longer than they did formerly, so that there are now twice as many who remain to 30 years of age, and three times as many who continue prostitutes beyond that age, as there were before the Acts were put in force.*

LICENSING OF BROTHELS AND PROSTITUTES.—This is considered on the Continent of Europe to be an essential and indispensable portion of the system, and there is no point upon which greater stress is laid. Continental writers are agreed that without the authority which licensing gives it is impossible for the police to exercise any control of real value over brothels, and Dr. Mireur only expresses the general opinion when he says "the regulated and authorised brothel

* See Appendix, "Loss of Moral Consciousness of Wrong Doing in Prostitution or Brothel Keeping."

is the keystone to the system." Dr. Gross also strongly urges the licensing of brothels and prostitutes in America, but it must be done under the "cloak" of some name that will not excite attention or rouse opposition. In England, on the contrary, brothels are not licensed, but the special police are on terms of such amicable accord with the brothel keepers that the keepers are not interfered with in any way if they take care not to allow diseased prostitutes to remain in their houses. In the district of Hong Kong, however, the British Government does license the brothels at so much per month, and subjects the nation to the unanswerable sneer of the Chinese, "We Chinese, whom you call heathens, and try to convert by your missionaries, say that brothels and prostitution are illegal, and what is illegal is shameful, though we may not be able to suppress it. It is left for you Christians to license brothels, and teach your people that there is no harm in frequenting them."

WHERE THIS LEGISLATION EXISTS THE POLICE ARE A SPECIAL BODY DISTINCT FROM THE LOCAL POLICE, AND ARE UNDER THE ORDERS OF A CENTRAL AUTHORITY, BEING FREE FROM ALL CONTROL OR DIRECTION OF THE LOCAL MAGISTRACY OR LOCAL PUBLIC BODIES, SUCH AS THE CORPORATION OR POLICE COMMITTEE.

The natural result of this arrangement is that the police are practically irresponsible, and are able to adopt practices towards the women whom they charge with prostitution, that would be impossible if they were under the control of the local authorities. This result is intentional on the part of the authors and advocates of the legislation, for as the powers conferred upon the special police are undefined by the ordinary law, and verge so constantly upon simple, absolute, arbitrary despotism, the intentions of the Acts could not be carried out by a police under the check of common law and local government, and local social influences. Besides which, the Acts would be carried out with different degrees of strictness in different places, and the essential uniformity of action could not be obtained from local authorities.

THE SPECIAL POLICE ARE PROTECTED BY UNUSUAL PROVISIONS FROM LIABILITY TO BE CALLED TO ACCOUNT FOR THEIR CONDUCT, SO THAT IT IS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR MISCONDUCT OR FOR FALSE ACCUSATIONS.

This also is an essential feature of this legislation ; for as the police are employed for the express purpose of bringing charges against

women solely relating to their moral character, and not to any crime which is or can be defined by the law, they are from first to last exercising arbitrary and in many respects illegal powers, and must be shielded from the consequences.

THE POLICE ARE IN PLAIN CLOTHES IN ENGLAND, THOUGH ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE THEY OFTEN WEAR AN OFFICIAL UNIFORM, AND PERSONATION OF THE POLICE, OR EXTORTION FROM ACCUSED PERSONS IS A COMMON CONSEQUENCE.

The consequence of the absence of uniform in England, and the multitude of official uniforms on the Continent is that personation of the special police by designing persons is easy. Resistance to an official on the Continent of Europe is a heinous offence, and is visited by severe penalties, and the mere charge of being a prostitute would be ruin to the character and social position of large classes of young women in England (milliners, domestic servants, and others). Thus an opportunity is afforded for extortion and intimidation, of which many instances have naturally occurred both on the Continent and in England, illustrations of which are here given.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EXTORTION AND OF PERSONATION.

BERLIN, 1872.—The Berlin correspondent of the *London Daily Telegraph*, October 26, 1872, says that arrests of virtuous women are made there *every day and night* by policemen in plain clothes, and they are threatened with being sent to prison on the charge of being “no better than they should be,” unless they give the policeman a bribe to let them off. “This is peculiarly hard on the bourgeoisie of a city where it is the custom for respectable girls and married women to walk to the theatres and concerts by themselves to save cab hire.”

LILLE, 1873.—The *London Daily News*, February 12, 1873, gives an account of a gang of ruffians who had just been discovered in that city. They had assumed an official costume, and under the pretence of being “special police” had during four years levied black mail upon men and compelled young women to submit to their desires under the threat of placing the women on the register of prostitutes if they refused. At length a German youth and his sweetheart resisted. The man was killed, but the woman escaped and gave the alarm, and the gang of about 20

men were eventually arrested. The leader boasted that during these four years 500 Lille women had thus submitted to him and his accomplices.

ENGLAND, 1872.—The *Times*, April 10, 1872, gives the report of the conviction at *Canterbury* (which is under the Acts) of a man for extorting money from a young man and his female companion on the threat of charging her with being a prostitute, saying that he was a policeman under the Acts. The Government prosecuted, because "*such cases were of frequent occurrence.*" The prisoner was sentenced to five years penal servitude.

PLYMOUTH.—Last summer (1876) a respectable young woman in Plymouth was grossly insulted and charged with being a prostitute by a man professing to be a special policeman. From his appearance and manner he was thought to be the inspector of the district, and his conduct was the subject of an enquiry in the House of Commons. The Inspector was summoned before the magistrates to answer the charge, and was acquitted on the ground of an *alibi*; and for the defence it was asserted that it was not a policeman at all, but some one falsely pretending to be one, who had insulted her.

Similar charges made against the special police before the Royal Commission were dismissed on the ground that the persons accused had personated the police.

CHAPTER III.

ALLEGED NECESSITY FOR SUCH LEGISLATION ON THE GROUND OF PUBLIC HEALTH—UNLOOKED FOR INCREASE OF DISEASE AFTER THE PASSING OF THE ACTS—SANITARY RESULTS OF THIS LEGISLATION IN EUROPE AND ENGLAND—LATEST PUBLIC MEDICAL UTTERANCES ON THE QUESTION IN ENGLAND—ADVOCATES OF THE ACTS AFRAID TO DISCUSS THEIR SANITARY RESULTS BEFORE MEDICAL AUDIENCES IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

ALLEGED NECESSITY FOR SUCH LEGISLATION ON THE GROUND OF PUBLIC HEALTH.—In the recent publications by Professor Gross and Dr. Marion Sims, the most appalling account is given of the ravages of venereal diseases, and the injury to the health, not only of the immediate sufferers from the effects of their own misconduct, but also of future generations who inherit disease, and of innocent wives infected by their husbands; and

the opinions of men of the highest eminence in the medical profession are given at considerable length to shew how wide-spread and fearful are the consequences of these diseases.

Upon this we would remark, that the medical profession throughout England is agreed in saying that venereal diseases are much less severe in their effects than they were even in the last generation ; and that they still shew a tendency to abate rather than to increase in severity, although there has been no legislation to produce this result until within the last ten years, and that has only applied to a few garrison towns, some of them being very small ones.

Another point upon which we would comment is, that while the above-named authors are writing to induce the United States to adopt special legislation on the subject, nearly all their accounts of the fearful ravages of these diseases are taken from English and French, and not from American sources. So that, even if these diseases do possess the terrors ascribed to them by the English and French medical authors quoted, it does not follow that they exhibit equally formidable features in the much wider area, and different climate and circumstances of the United States.

A third point of importance to notice is, that with scarcely an exception, the *selected** writers who have given such fearful descriptions, are men in the largest consulting practice in London, a city to which all the worst cases of disease throughout the British Isles resort for the benefit of the best advice, and this is practically sought from a very limited number of consulting men. These men, therefore, see day by day the worst cases of wealthy patients from the whole country, which collect in their consulting rooms as in a focus, and naturally, though almost unconsciously, produce an impression that the disease of which they see so much every day is equally prevalent everywhere, and must, therefore, be of the most formidable dimensions. The unconscious exaggeration of which such eminent men are therefore the authors, is not unnatural, but it certainly does not represent the experience either of the medical profession at large, or of the general community.

* It is necessary to draw attention to this "*selection*," because many other surgeons of equal eminence gave evidence before the English Royal Commission that the statements as to the prevalence and severity of venereal diseases were extremely exaggerated so far as the general public was affected by them. The evidence on this point is given in detail in the Appendix.

The last question, and the most important, practically, in this part of the subject, is : *Is such legislation as that of the Continental System of the Bureau des Mœurs* and the English Contagious Diseases Acts likely to be effectual in reducing the amount of venereal diseases throughout the community? and has the experience of the British Army and Navy shewn, in fact, that it has operated favourably?*

Now, it will not be disputed, that to remove a number of diseased persons and confine them in hospital until they are cured, offers a reasonable prospect of success in diminishing, at any rate, the spread of disease, even if it does not entirely prevent it; and such has been the not unnatural expectation of the authors of such legislation, and the ground upon which they have advocated it. But, on the other hand, it is urged that the knowledge that the government has endeavoured by such a course to "render the practice of prostitution" (in the words of the Royal Commission) "if not absolutely innocuous, at least much less dangerous," removes from a number of persons that check upon vice which the fear of consequences exerts, whether that check be great or small, and the knowledge that the government licenses brothels, as is universally done on the Continent—as is strongly advocated by Dr. Gross—and as is practised by the British Government itself in Hong Kong, (where there is no public opinion to restrain its action,) produces upon other minds the belief that what the law licences is not blameable, and thus another check upon immorality is taken away.

RESULT OF THIS LEGISLATION IN EUROPE AND IN ENGLAND.

The result of this legislation has been moral and social evil; and it has failed to produce the sanitary benefit expected from it, while diseases, the consequences of social vice, have increased under the operation of such legislation, even if it should be denied that the increase has been a natural consequence of it. We shall consider each of these aspects, moral, social, and sanitary, but we shall take the sanitary results first, not because we think that freedom from disease is of more consequence than freedom from sin, or that health is cheaply purchased at the expense of a free people submitting its liberties to the keeping of the police, but because such legislation as that of the Bureau des Mœurs in France,

* This is the official title of the department of State which regulates prostitution in France.

and the Contagious Diseases Acts in England, is always based upon the ground of its supposed necessity for the public health.

THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PRODUCTIVE OF BENEFIT TO THE HEALTH OF THE BRITISH ARMY OR NAVY, IN ANY OF THE FORMS OF VENEREAL DISEASE.

The effect of the C. D. Acts upon the diseases against which they were directed is such as to have taken the advocates of the system by surprise, but it has become so firmly established by the whole experience of the British Army and Navy, that they have been obliged to adopt an entirely new language respecting it. This remarkable fact is, THAT GONORRHOEA AND ITS IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES HAVE STEADILY AND PROGRESSIVELY INCREASED TO AN ALMOST INCREDIBLE DEGREE IN THE SUBJECTED STATIONS OF THE BRITISH NAVY, AND THAT IN THE ARMY GONORRHOEA HAS BEEN STEADILY HIGHER IN THE STATIONS UNDER THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS THAN IN THOSE NOT UNDER THEM. AND ALSO THAT SECONDARY OR CONSTITUTIONAL SYPHILIS, WHICH WAS ABATING RAPIDLY IN THE BRITISH ARMY PREVIOUS TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ACTS, HAS BEEN HIGHER ON THE AVERAGE OF THE WHOLE PERIOD SINCE THEY WERE PASSED THAN IT WAS AT THE DATE OF THEIR COMING INTO OPERATION, WHILE IN THE BRITISH NAVY IT HAS NOT FALLEN ONE CASE IN SEVEN THOUSAND MEN ANNUALLY DURING THE NINE YEARS THE ACTS HAVE BEEN IN FORCE. And further, that in the one form of disease, in which improvement has been progressive, the rate of improvement has been much less in the Army and Navy since the Acts have been in force than it was before their introduction. In consequence of this damaging and unlooked for result, the Navy Report for 1874, boldly proclaimed in a long article that gonorrhœa "is of little or no consequence compared with the other forms of disease." This assertion is, however, completely disproved by the statistics published in the same Report, which shew that the loss to the Navy from this disease in 1875 was above sixty-two thousand days' service; and speaking for the British Army, Dr. Balfour (for many years the head of the statistical department), now says that gonorrhœa is not likely ever to be materially affected by such legislation. But if gonorrhœa has increased, whether of little or no consequence, and secondary or constitutional syphilis has rather increased than diminished in the British Army, and has only fallen one case in seven thousand men annually in

the British Navy, it may be well worth while for a nation to pause before it introduces a new system of legislation attended with so little apparent benefit in the most serious form, and officially proclaimed to be unnecessary and not likely to produce benefit in the most common form of disease.

THE DEATH RATE AMONG THE REGISTERED PROSTITUTES HAS DOUBLED SINCE THE ACTS WERE PUT IN FORCE, AND THE AVERAGE RATIO OF DISEASE AMONG THE PROSTITUTES HAS BEEN HIGHER BY 32 PER CENT. THAN BEFORE THE ACTS WERE IN FORCE.

IN FRANCE THE INCREASE OF VENEREAL DISEASE IS ACKNOWLEDGED AND LAMENTED IN THE MOST EXPLICIT TERMS BY M. LECOUR, THE HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT IN PARIS, AND HE IS UPBRAILED WITH THIS FAILURE IN THE MOST UNSPARING TERMS BY DR. JEANNEL, THE MOST DETERMINED AND UNCOMPROMISING MEDICAL ADVOCATE OF THIS LEGISLATION ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

The statements in our Appendix as to the health of the Army and Navy, and of the registered prostitutes, both before and since the passing of the Contagious Diseases Acts, are taken exclusively from the Army and Navy Reports published every year by the Government—from statistics of disease in the Army for four years previous to the Acts—and from the reports on the operation of these Acts presented every year to the Government by Captain Harris, the chief of the police department, and published by authority of Parliament. These statements have all been submitted to the Government for criticism by the department to which they relate, and in only one point, which is alluded to fully in the Appendix, has any correction been offered, though they have now been placed before the Government, the Medical Press, and other critics, both friendly and unfriendly, for three years in succession. Every precaution that could be suggested by either friends or opponents has been taken to render the results stated as free from error as possible.

For the information of non-medical readers, it may be mentioned that the Contagious Diseases Act is headed "An Act for the Prevention of Contagious Diseases in certain Naval and Military Stations;" and that this term, as defined by the Act itself, embraces two forms of disease, "Gonorrhœa" and "Venereal Disease." This latter is divided

in the Government Health Returns into "Primary" and "Secondary" disease, of which the first is sometimes a mere superficial affection of no consequence beyond producing temporary suffering and loss of the man's services when in hospital, while at other times it is followed by the serious constitutional consequences termed "Secondary Disease."

These three forms all occasion loss of service by confining men to hospital, and all were equally contemplated by the authors of the Acts, and are equally specified in the Acts themselves.

In Hong Kong, where such acts have been in operation longer than in any other place under British control, secondary disease is higher than in any other part of the world.

All these forms of disease may be communicated by an immoral man to his wife, and the most serious form, viz. the secondary or constitutional disease, can be transmitted to his offspring also. Some advocates of the legislation under consideration, therefore, urge the extension of these Acts to the whole community, more, as they say, for the sake of the innocent wives and helpless children, than of the sufferers from the consequences of their own immorality. But as we find that one of the most common of these diseases has increased under the influence of these Acts, and that the most serious form has increased in the Army, and is barely reduced in the Navy during the whole period of their operation, this plea for their extension loses all its weight; for these unhappy sufferers would appear to run even greater risk under the Acts than they do without them. And there are probably few medical men of experience in this branch of practice who cannot recall cases in which married men have consulted them for disease contracted by indulgence in unlawful license in towns delusively supposed to be safe in consequence of being under these laws, who would have abstained owing to their fear of consequences, had no such false security been before their eyes.

CAUSES OF SANITARY FAILURE OF THE ACTS.

The subject is fully treated in the Appendix. It will be sufficient here to mention briefly that the increased immorality encouraged by this legislation naturally results in an increase of disease. The absurdity of attempting to suppress disease by applying checks to one sex only, and the acknowledged impossibility of detecting in many cases the most serious form of disease, and the facility with which the evidence of

gonorrhœa can be concealed for a time from medical officers, and other evident causes of failure.

LATEST PUBLIC MEDICAL UTTERANCES IN ENGLAND ON THIS QUESTION.

A public meeting of the medical profession was held in Birmingham on the 29th of March of the present year (1877), to which all the medical men of Birmingham and the towns in the midland counties of England were invited to a discussion upon these Acts, to be conducted between delegates appointed by the National Medical Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts on one side, and Mr. Berkeley Hill (the late Hon. Sec. of the Association for the Extension of the Acts to the whole civil population) on the other, and any other advocates of the Acts whom he might wish to associate with him.

The action of Mr. Berkeley Hill in declining the discussion, both on this and a previous occasion, is the more important as he has been from the first one of the most active advocates of the Acts. He was influential in obtaining their enactment in the first instance; was a prominent witness in their favour before the Royal Commission; has been until recently the active Honorary Secretary of the Association for their Extension ever since its formation; and previous to the existence of any organised medical opposition to them, he visited several large towns in various parts of England, delivering addresses in their favour. He was specially invited to the discussion in Birmingham as the most prominent champion of the Acts, and was informed that the invitation was a distinct challenge to prove to a medical audience that the Acts deserved the support of the medical profession and the nation at large. Mr. Hill did not venture to accept the challenge, and the result of the meeting was that the following resolution was unanimously carried in condemnation of the Acts:—

“That this meeting records its conviction of the sanitary failure and immoral tendencies of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and hereby calls for their repeal.”

Another meeting of medical men, opposed to the C. D. Acts, was held in the afternoon, prior to the evening meeting referred to above, when the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

“That we, the members of this Association, recognise the ample proofs of continued sanitary failure of the Contagious Diseases Acts as in themselves sufficient to justify our demanding the immediate repeal of these Acts; but at the same time, we, in our capacity of medical men, entirely refuse to confine our attention to the immediate and

apparent effect of their operation on the prevalence of venereal diseases alone ; that, on the contrary, it belongs to our function as health advisers of the public, to take into our consideration the moral, social, and legislative tendencies which assist or retard the spread of diseased conditions ; that the painful experience of other countries and our own, no less than the principles of moral, social, and legislative science, amply demonstrate that the ultimate and real effects of compulsory examination and medication of women must be, and in fact always has been, to spread vice, degradation, and disease ; that we urgently warn the profession at large of the just discredit which must attach to continued support of a system condemned by reason and experience, and certain to be overthrown ; and that we cordially invite our brethren everywhere to join us in the struggle for their extermination, to which we hereby pledge ourselves."

This vote of condemnation is the more significant because a memorial was signed some years since by 2,600 medical men in various parts of Great Britain, who were in favour of the C. D. Acts from their general impression that such legislation was calculated to produce a beneficial result. About 300 of them lived in the towns under the Acts, though a very small proportion of this number was engaged in their administration. The remaining 2,300 had no practical experience of their operation, and the proofs of sanitary failure of the Acts given on the preceding pages and in the Appendix were not then known to the profession, as there had not been time for their sanitary results to be developed.

The line of action adopted by the International Medical Congress, which is to meet in Geneva next September, 1877. is also very significant. Venereal disease and the extension of Contagious Diseases Acts by international treaties throughout the continent of Europe, and even more widely still, have been favourite themes in the Congresses of Paris, Vienna, and Brussels, and venereal disease again occupied a place in the programme of the International Medical Congress to be held in Geneva in September next. Strict conditions were laid down to be complied with before a paper could be received. The British National Medical Association for the Repeal of the C. D. Acts offered a paper on the subject which complied in the minutest particulars with the prescribed conditions. But as soon as the council of the International Congress knew that the paper would be opposed to such Acts, it altered its programme and wrote to say that it had decided not to admit the question of venereal disease among the subjects for discussion at the Congress. Thus it appears that on the Continent of Europe, as well as in England, the advocates of these Acts are bold in their advocacy when there is no opposition, but as soon as medical opposition is announced they refuse on the Continent to allow

the subject to be discussed, and in England they are afraid to accept the challenge, and allow the opponents of the Acts to remain undisputed masters of the field. In consequence of this evasion of the question by the Medical Congress, the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Prostitution will give the question a prominent position in the programme of its Congress, which is fixed to be held in Geneva during the week immediately following that of the International Medical Congress, and it is earnestly hoped that Americans who may be in favour of such legislation may be present, as they will thus have the opportunity of advocating their own views, and meeting those who from practical acquaintance with its operation, both social, moral, and sanitary, are determined in their opposition to all such legislation.*

CHAPTER IV.

DISREGARD FOR THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT—SPY POLICE—SELF-CRIMINATIONS URGED ON THE ACCUSED—WOMEN SUBJECTED TO THE POWER OF THE POLICE—SUICIDES IN CONSEQUENCE IN ENGLAND AND IN SWITZERLAND—OUTRAGE ON WOMEN IN FRANCE—TYRANNY OF ENGLISH POLICE—CONSEQUENT HATRED OF POLICE AND CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES.

SOCIAL EVILS RESULTING FROM THIS LEGISLATION.

"I hold that civil *equality*, that is equality of *all* subjects before the law—and that a law which recognises the *personal rights* of *all* subjects—is the only foundation of a perfect commonwealth, one which secures to all, liberty, order, and *justice*. The principle of civil equality has long prevailed in this country, and I attribute the patriotism of our population mainly to this circumstance."—*Right Hon. BENJAMIN DISRAELI'S, M.P., Inaugural Address as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, 1874.*

"It is wrong to give men powers liable to abuse, and then assume that they will not be abused."—*JOHN STUART MILL, M.P., Royal Commission Evidence.*

"We think that the Act of 1864 is open to the serious objection, that it gives discretionary power to the police to lodge information against any woman they have reason to suspect is diseased. *This is a dangerous power.*"—*Sir J. PAKINGTON, Sir J. TRELAWNEY, and five other Commissioners' Record of dissent from the Report of the Royal Commission on the C. D. Acts.*

* This Congress will be opened on Monday, 17th September, 1877, and will continue during the whole of the week. Particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Secretaries, Professor Stuart, Trinity College, Cambridge; Mrs. Butler, 348, Park-road, Liverpool; or of M. Aimé Humbert, Professeur, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

surveillance

One of our greatest modern writers, Mr. Herbert Spencer, remarks, "The tendency of the age is to trust by far too much to political forms—forms which are valuable only as they are vitalised by national character. Of this fact we have a clear proof in the manner in which a House of Commons chosen by popular and now greatly extended constituencies, passed the Contagious Diseases Acts—legislation utterly inimical to the 'liberty of the subject,' of which popular government professes to be so jealous. A popular government, just made more popular, has established, without the slightest hindrance, a law and an official organization THAT TREATS WITH CONTEMPT THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL RULE." *When, to qualify a clause defining the powers of the police, it was proposed to add "that the justice before whom such information shall be made, shall in all cases require corroborative testimony and support thereof other than that of the members of the police force," this qualification was negatived without a word.*

Thus a free-born British subject, innocent of all legal offence, is subjected to an instrumental violation of her person, simply because a police spy swears that he has good ground to doubt her chastity, a proceeding so essentially atrocious, that it is impossible to understand how any man can support it. We are told that the police are picked men, married, and very careful in the discharge of their duties, but this does not prevent the numerous outrages committed upon women, such as that of Caroline Wybrow and Jane Boodle, already mentioned, and it was shown in evidence before the Royal Commission that the *best men decline the office*, and in the Report of the Lords' Committee, it is related that one of them married a brothel keeper with whom he had become acquainted while employed under these Acts. De Tocqueville says, *he who has the power of penal threat and punishment is the real master of society*, and he warns us against permitting the police to become the masters—especially spies and informers.

The Contagious Diseases Acts in England have introduced the system of a disguised spy police as an essential element of their administration, and this is still retained in full operation, notwithstanding the recommendation of the Royal Commission that it should be given up; for the advocates of the Acts say that they could not be carried out efficiently if the police in England were in uniform.

They have introduced the new and unconstitutional principle of urging

the accused person to criminate herself, contrary to the whole spirit of British law; and so fundamentally is this principle ingrained in the Acts that as soon as they were passed the Admiralty and the War Office issued large printed placards of instructions to the special police to warn the women who object to be enrolled as prostitutes "*of the penal consequences attending the refusal*" to sign the "*voluntary submission*," in other words, the penal consequences of not criminating themselves. When this notice became known to the opponents of the Acts, such an indignant outcry was raised, that its illegality was confessed, and it was taken down;* and both the Admiralty and War Office tried to excuse themselves by saying that it had been put up "without authority," although the notice itself stated that it was done by order of both. The officials for carrying out the Acts had interpreted the spirit and meaning of the Acts and of the authorities correctly, and had only gone beyond the literal wording of their authority.

The Liberty and reputation of whole classes of women are placed dangerously in the power of a practically irresponsible police. Col. Henderson, the Chief Commissioner of the Acts police, in his Annual Report to the Government in 1873, says: "Young women in the position of *domestic servants and others*, after nightfall, leave their male acquaintances directly the police employed under the Acts appear in sight." The "others" are described by the officials under the Acts, in the evidence before the Royal Commission and the House of Commons Commission, as being milliners, shop girls, young women working in factories, &c. Not only are these classes under fear of the special police, but the Rev. D. G. Watt, M.A., of Maidstone, a town in which the Acts have recently been put in force, said, in his speech at the Cannon-street Hotel in London, May 12, 1875, "Another serious effect produced by the law is, that it is not felt quite safe by our wives and daughters to be seen in the streets at night. A teacher tells me that there are those who would willingly come to his classes at night, but they are afraid of being seen out regularly. If a young man and young woman went home together, a detective might very likely be upon them." And the late Mr. Acton, a distinguished surgeon, and one of the most influential originators and advocates of these Acts in England, informed a large meeting of the

* Though the order itself has been withdrawn, the proceedings of the special police are still conducted precisely according to the original instructions.

medical profession in Liverpool, in 1874, that no young woman dare go out in an evening in Windsor since the Acts had been introduced, for if she was seen by the police walking one night with one man and another night with another, no matter whether he might be her father or her brother, or whoever he might be, "she would be tapped upon the shoulder by the police, 'my young woman, you must go up for examination to-morrow.'"

SUICIDES IN ENGLAND AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THESE ACTS.—Captain Harris,* in his Report for 1874 to the British government on the operation of these Acts, says, paragraph 2, "Not a single case of excess or violation of duty has been brought to Capt. Harris's notice during the year." We reply, that the class of women who are subject to these Acts is not one that has it in its power to bring cases of excess or violation of police duty under the notice of the Head of the police; but it is difficult to understand how the case of Elizabeth Jane Brown, aged about 20 years, who drowned herself under Plymouth Hoe, on the 1st of July, 1874, should not have been brought under the notice of Capt. Harris, for she had often complained of the harsh treatment she met with from the police and the surgeon, and had once before attempted to destroy herself by cutting her throat but had recovered from the wound. She had said that rather than be compelled to submit to such treatment as she had met with in the examination room she would drown herself, and she did so. Rachael House, also, was put in solitary confinement in the Royal Albert Hospital, Devonport, and committed suicide on May 28, 1869, by throwing herself out of the window; and Emily Mulcarty (*née* Moore) drowned herself at Millbay, on the 16th April, 1873. She was on the register at Devonport, and was married a few months prior to committing suicide, *but had not been able to get her name removed from the register.* (*Medical Enquirer*, June 15, 1875, p. 60.) *These cases had all occurred before this Report was issued* by Capt. Harris, though that of Mrs. Percy, who drowned herself sooner than submit to these Acts, occurred since the Report was prepared. This unfortunate woman was the widow of an actor, recently dead, who, with his wife, had supported themselves respectably for many years by acting and singing in the theatre at Aldershot, which is the largest military camp in England. A few months after his death the Acts-

* See Notes on Captain Harris's Statistics in Appendix.

police ordered her and her young daughter, scarcely 16 years of age, to go up for examination as common prostitutes. She wrote a piteous letter to the *London Daily Telegraph*, describing the persecution she was subjected to, and left Aldershot rather than submit to the examinations and removed to Windsor. There she failed to obtain an engagement as a stranger, and returned to Aldershot, where she soon obtained employment. Again the police hunted her down, and by threatening the withdrawal of his license, obliged the person who had engaged her to dismiss her. She was soon reduced to absolute penury, and after spending her last threepence in obtaining refreshment at the eating house of an old friend, she told her of her wretched condition, and said she would drown herself before she would submit, for she was no woman of *that* class. The next morning she was found dead in the canal, and the above facts were proved at the inquest. Not an attempt was made at the inquest to justify this action of the police, or to prove that she had ever been a prostitute; but since her death, and when there has been no one to defend her or to submit her accusers to cross-examination or prosecution for slander, the police and the examining surgeon have not hesitated to try and blacken her memory, by making charges against her which they did not dare to utter at the inquest or while she was yet alive.

Switzerland has just added two more to the foregoing suicides committed in order to escape from the horrors of this legalised prostitution—this white slavery in its most fearful form. On the 22nd of March, 1877, two corpses were dragged out of the river Doubs at Brenets on the Jura. One was that of a young widow of 23, and the other of a girl of 18, natives of Chaux-des-Fonds, where the municipal council has fought hard to maintain the system of licensed brothels. The two women had lately been enticed into a house of debauchery, and horrified at their life they had effected their escape as far as to Locle, and thence to Brenets. Wretched women, however, when once in the police toils as registered prostitutes, are not freed from their bonds when they have escaped from the house of infamy in which they have been inmates, and these two women, friendless, poor, and powerless, and fearing apparently to return to Chaux-des-Fonds, followed the example of Mrs. Percy, and having tied themselves together by an arm of each, threw themselves into the Doubs, from which they were brought home as corpses three days after their escape.

But these illustrations of police tyranny in England are as nothing compared with the condition of things in France and other parts of the Continent of Europe. In March, 1876, a young banker from Dijon (in France) and his bride, visited Paris on their wedding tour. While he looked after his luggage the bride waited for him, and being alone was accosted by the police, and notwithstanding her statement as to her husband's name and position, and the cause of her being alone, she was forcibly taken into custody and subjected to the personal indignities of the Bureau des Mœurs, and it was not until after hours of anxious search that her husband recovered her. Even then, in order to furnish a pretext for the police action, she was compelled to say that she was waiting about for illicit purposes before she could obtain her release, and her husband was totally unable to obtain any redress.

The following narratives are purposely taken from the *London Standard* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, because those papers have distinguished themselves by their advocacy of these Acts and their undisguised contempt for their opponents :—

The French correspondent of the *Standard** says: "A young woman was leaving the railway station, whither she had accompanied her lover, when she was accosted by one of those Agents and requested to follow him to the police station. The woman admitted she was a public character, and showed she was *en regle*, but refused to obey his request. The agent thereupon called two policemen and ordered them to arrest her. The woman threw herself down, and a struggle ensued. At this moment an omnibus came dashing along, and the wheels passed over one of the woman's feet. The crowd cried out to the police to take her to the hospital, but they refused to do so, and dragged her, bleeding and screaming with pain, to the station. On arriving there a doctor was sent for, and he ordered her to be removed to the hospital to be attended to. She was forthwith put into a prison van; but, on reaching the hospital, she managed to escape, and jumped into the river close by. The police made no attempt to save her, and she was carried away and drowned. Such is the sad story." The *Pall Mall Gazette*† also detailed this case, and added "the fact, that another young woman, two days afterwards, jumped from the window of the third story of a house and was severely injured, in a struggle with another agent of the Bureau des Mœurs, seems to confirm the generally prevalent impression, that these agents treat the unfortunate women with great brutality in some cases, and with partiality in others, resorting to extortion very often, and when they fail in that, to threats, which, given their influence and the character of their victims, it is easy for them to carry into effect. It is but a few months since that a perfectly respectable young woman

* The *Standard*, September 8, 1876.

† The *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 6, 1876.

at Dijon, committed suicide, because one of these agents had threatened to denounce her as a person of bad character, unless she acceded to his demands." So much for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The comments of the *Standard* are even stronger. The French correspondent says, 'I have more than once alluded to that abominable institution in France, known as the *Agence des Mœurs*,' and after relating the case already quoted, he proceeds, 'the fact shows with what horror these poor degraded creatures look upon the surveillance of the *Agence des Mœurs*, and that horror is fully justified. Without going into details, it is pretty well known that the institution is a kind of organised tyranny. In many cases the men levy black mail on the women, and those who submit are arrested and sent to places far worse than prisons. The power of these Moral Agents is something inconceivable. Like all officials of the police administration, they are protected by the *égis* of the state, and cannot be called to account by ordinary legal means. If they confined their surveillance to ordinary loose characters, it would still be bad enough, but they often arrest innocent and respectable women, who are forced to choose between a disgraceful public exposure or a certain amount of hush-money. The *Agence des Mœurs* is a bad and corrupt institution, and the sooner it is abolished or replaced by a better system the better for all parties.'

Popular feeling had not had time to cool down before an event which occurred at Paris became the occasion of an outcry from the press which has gone on with increasing force ever since.

The following is the account of this outrage, from the *London Weekly Despatch* : *—
'Madlle. Rousseil, of the Theatre Français, was going to the theatre, when a man in plain clothes barred her path, and ordered her with menacing arrogance to follow him to the next police station. She asked him to let her pass, it being evident that he had mistaken her or some one else. He said he had not, and mentioned her name. As she refused to follow him, he laid hands upon her. The gifted actress is a woman of high spirit and strong physique, so she struggled with the aggressor, and pushed him on his face into the gutter. A crowd gathered, but when it was known what the assailant was, nobody dared to interfere. At last two city policemen came up. Madlle. Rousseil stated her case, and they took upon themselves to release her for the evening. The Prefect of Police, M. Le Cour, in the interest doubtless of order, such as he understands it, now denies that it was one of his subordinates who assailed the actress, though it is established that the *Agent des Mœurs* showed his medal of office to the policemen, and that they did not question its authenticity.†

This case was taken up by the newspapers one after another; it was illustrated by other cases; letters poured in from the friends of outraged women, and attention was pre-eminently drawn 'to the total want of legal authority for the whole system. The following are some of the facts which have thus forced their way into the

* *Weekly Despatch*, November 12, 1876.

† "The article from which the above extract is taken contains a remarkably strong denunciation of the institution, an 'institution,' as the writer says, 'which could not exist in a land where there is not in the governing class an ingrained disregard for legality and hostility to every principle of justice interfering with their convenience.'"

daylight:—A few months since, these agents arrested the nursery governess of M. Naquet, when accompanying his son in the street. Others arrested at a railway station the wife of a railway director, who, in spite of his high position, could not obtain her release until the next day. On the Boulevard Haussmann the other day a scandalous scene occurred. 'The agents were hunting a woman under the trees there to obtain her registration. She refused to submit, and climbed up one of the trees, crying out so loudly that the passers by stopped and took her part against the police. A struggle ensued, and the woman and her defenders were taken into custody. The defenders were subsequently charged with outrage and rebellion against the agents of authority in the exercise of their functions. Two were condemned to three months' imprisonment, and the other two were fined.' On this punishment the *Droits de l'Homme* remarks—'Now, let it be known that when a woman is arrested she may cry for help as long as she likes, what matter? Do not go near her; leave her in the hands of the person who has seized her, no matter who he may be. It is but a little misfortune. These men have been condemned for rebellion against the agents of authority in the exercise of their functions. Who gave these agents any authority whatever? Who created their function, and in what does it consist? We trust the condemned will not be satisfied with this judgment, but will appeal to the Court of Cassation. The safety of all women is too much involved in this question to allow it to rest. There is a legal question to be solved, and we trust that these condemnations are the beginning of the abolition of the Police of Morals, which serves only to corrupt morals.'

Here is another scandalous case, which recently occurred at Niort. * A young girl Madlle. Marie Labat, was accompanying to a concert the father of her employer, and was requested by a 'morals policeman' to take her seat in the stalls reserved (!) for public women. On refusing to do so, she was seized by two of the agents, beaten by them, and kept in custody for several hours. She addressed a first complaint to the Court of Judicature. This having failed to elicit any response, she wrote to the Attorney-General. In this letter, which has been published, she stated that subsequently to the attack at the concert, her accusers had obtained an order from the Mayor of Niort to place her name without further formalities on the register of infamy. Her letter is a noble protest against the dishonour which has been done to her, and she concludes it thus:—'I tell you I will never accept the arrest of the Mayor, which was got from him by a trick, for I hold more to my honour than to my life; I will resist it with all my strength, and if there should be nothing left to me but the last supreme resort, I will not hesitate, but will make without regret the sacrifice of my life, rather than be dragged into unmerited infamy. It seems to me, also, Mr. Attorney-General, that no one, whoever she is, and still more an honourable person, can be assimilated with the abandoned by an arbitrary act on the part of men, who make themselves accusers, judges and executioners all in one, and without giving her, according to the common rights of all, time to prepare a defence.' *Le Republicain*, in alluding to the case of Marie Labat, pointed out strongly the terrible wrong of her

* See *L'Homme Libre*, Nov. 21, 1876.

forced registration. 'They have stamped her with infamy. Whatever she does, her name will remain inscribed on the register of the abandoned ; and if in ten years' time, or fifteen, or twenty years' time, that register should come under the eye of any of her acquaintances, though she be the most virtuous of women, they will never believe in her virtue, but will class her with the most degraded.' *

Some of the Paris newspapers adopt a sneering tone, but in doing so they unconsciously make concessions most damaging to the cause they would support. One of these, *l'Ordre*, speaks of Mdlle. Rousseil's case in the following manner :—'The factitious person who attacked Mdlle. Rousseil was reported to have been an agent of morals, but a minute inquiry proves that he is nothing of the kind ; but, after all, that is not the question ; no doubt Mdlle. Rousseil has suffered an insult, and she has quite a right to complain to the Commissary of Police about it, however repugnant it must be for an honest woman to mix herself up in certain kinds of filth. Mdlle. Rousseil might have let the matter drop, we think, and since she is so very careful about her reputation, it seems to us she has committed, with no advantage to herself, a great imprudence, to say the least, in confiding her misadventures to the public. You cannot take up mud without some of it sticking to your fingers, and the public which is gossiping and often spiteful, goes straight to the stain, shows it off to others, and amuses itself gaily at your expense, which is surely useless, at least to you. *We know many honest women ourselves, in a position to be quite as dainty about their reputation as Mdlle. Rousseil is, who have in no wise boasted of or proclaimed similar accidents of which they themselves have been the victims.* We know a young and charming lady who was one day brutally seized by an agent of police and carried to the station where she spent the night, mad with shame. In vain she cried out her name, and gave her address ; they did not believe her, and she was not released until her husband came and claimed her. This was worse than Mdlle. Rousseil's case, for in fact, they had actually subjected this lady of good society to odious and degrading contacts. Do you imagine that *she*, next morning, wrote to the newspapers, 'I have been mistaken for an immoral woman ; I demand justice !' No, certainly ; she knew how to hold her tongue."

These illustrations may be fitly concluded by the following extract from a speech by *Mr. Applegarth, a member of the English Royal Commission, who took more than ordinary pains to sift the cases, because he was put upon the Commission as an acknowledged leader and representative of the artizan and labouring classes in England, who are more exposed to police tyranny, and are less able to resist it than other classes of society.* He said, in a public speech in Sheffield, July 24, 1871 :—

"He sought the truth in places where some persons would perhaps fear to go. He went into protected and unprotected districts, and night and day did he seek to ascertain whether all the statements he had heard against the Acts were really true or very much exaggerated. In many instances he found much exaggeration, but he

* *Le Republicain*, Jan. 11, 1877.

also found what the Royal Commission did not find, and could not expect to find—many cases where the police had exceeded their duty—cases where respectable women had been stopped by the police, and had been insulted by being compelled to undergo examination. It was not likely that these would go before a Commission which consisted of 24 members, and say what had happened.”

Mr. Applegarth also addressed the following letter to Captain Harris, the Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Special Police, who year by year reports officially to the Government that the police never exceed their authority or act harshly by women, and challenged proof of their having done so.

“There are three classes of cases in which, in my opinion, the police officers engaged in putting into force the Contagious Diseases Acts have exceeded their duty:—

First. “Cases which have been the subject of proceedings before magistrates.

“Frequently serving summonses on Saturday evening which were to be heard on the following Monday morning, and thus depriving the women summoned of all opportunity of preparing their defence.

“Applying for orders, the effect of which would be to brand women as common prostitutes, upon tainted and unreliable evidence, which a proper investigation would have shown to be utterly worthless.

“Illegally imprisoning women who have been examined, without giving them the opportunity of voluntarily proceeding to the hospital, which the Act of Parliament expressly declares they are to have. This conduct seems, in some cases, to have been aggravated by circumstances of great cruelty, causing much suffering to the women.

“Holding out illegal threats to induce the women to sign the so-called *voluntary* submission. For several of these acts the police officers have been publicly rebuked by the magistrates.”

Second. “Cases of cruelty and oppression practised against the women, which have not been the subject of any judicial investigation.

“A few such cases were brought before the Royal Commission, *but nothing like a complete or satisfactory investigation took place into any one of them. For such an investigation it is evident that it would be necessary to hear from their own lips the story of the complainants—to bring, in accordance with the principles of English justice, the accusers and the accused face to face*; and to subject the evidence on both sides to the test of cross-examination. A large number of such cases, into which no inquiry at all was made, was laid before, or offered to, the Commission by Mr. Littleton, of Devonport, Mr. W. Morgan, of Birmingham, and Mr. R. B. Williams and Mr. W. Shaen, of London. I have read the notes of many of these cases; and I have heard from the women themselves the details of others; and I am bound to say that they are quite sufficient to call for an impartial inquiry before a competent tribunal, and, in the meantime, for my own part, I believe that many of these stories are substantially true.”

Third. "Cases of women who are not prostitutes, who have been brought under the operation of the Acts, or insulted by attempts to make them sign the voluntary submission.

"A complete investigation into these cases must always be extremely difficult, and must often be impossible. It cannot be done at all without the consent of the parties concerned; and, just in proportion to their respectability, must be their reluctance not only to tell their repulsive tale, but to subject themselves to cross examination as to its details. In many cases to encounter such an ordeal would be to run the risk of social disgrace and pecuniary ruin to themselves and their families. They say—they have said to me recently—'We tell our tale to you in confidence, to enable you to judge of this accursed system; but we dare not come forward and tell it publicly. We have everything to lose and nothing to gain.'

"I am, Sir, yours obediently,

"August, 1871."

"R. APPELGARTH."

To this letter of Mr. Applegarth's Capt. Harris never replied, and he continues to repeat his praises of the irreproachable conduct of the police, notwithstanding the four suicides recorded in a previous page, and the evidence of this Royal Commissioner (Mr. Applegarth).

This legislation opens the door to police corruption of a character and extent never likely to be fully known. We have shown in the foregoing pages (pp. 19-20) that black-mail has been levied under threats of charging women with being prostitutes if the demand was refused, and that women have been frightened into degrading compliance with still worse demands under similar threats; and it is not necessary to believe the police to be worse than other men in order to understand that such extortion and criminal demands are certain to be made where they have it in their power to ruin the reputation of almost any woman whom they choose to accuse of being unchaste, when they are in the disguise of plain clothes as in England, or are under the invincible protection afforded by an official uniform on the Continent of Europe.

It exposes the most unprotected and helpless class of society, viz., poor women, to the attacks of vile persons falsely pretending to be specials in plain clothes, under the Acts in England, or of authorized officials under the Acts on the Continent of Europe. It is unnecessary to repeat the proofs of this social danger which have already been given in these pages.

It produces hatred of the Police, and, as a sequel, opposition to all constituted authority, by the classes in society whose female relations

are subjected by such legislation to the weight of irresponsible police tyranny. There has been, as yet, but little time for such a feeling to be developed in England, where the Acts have only been in full force since 1869, and in only a small number of places, which are almost exclusively garrison towns. But a significant indication of the growth of such feeling even in England was afforded last autumn in Plymouth, which has been longer under the Acts than any other town. The inspector of the special police was charged before the magistrates with having falsely and grossly insulted a virtuous young woman by charging her with being a prostitute. After an enquiry, which occupied two days, he was acquitted by the magistrates on the ground of an alibi, and that it was some one falsely personating the police who had insulted her. But the indignation against the inspector was so great in the crowded court that it was necessary for him to hide for some time, and then escape unseen to a place of shelter, in order to save himself from the violence of the populace. It would be difficult to find another case in which an inspector of police in England has had to shelter himself from public violence when leaving the court, after being acquitted of any other charge by the magistrates.

In Paris, where such regulations have been much longer in force than in England, the intensity of popular hatred is immeasurably deeper. One of the first Acts of the Commune, in 1871,* was to close all the "tolerated houses" (public licensed brothels), and one of the most recent police instructions issued by M. Lecour, the head of the department in the republic of France, is to forbid the police to attempt to put the Acts in force against any woman when there are many men present, for fear of an *emeute*. Working-men told Mrs. Butler that it would be

* "The following is an extract from the Decree of the Eleventh Arrondissement of the Commune, May, 1871 :—'Considering that, even before the gigantic war undertaken by North America for the abolition of slavery, the traffic in slaves was forbidden, and slave-merchants severely punished; and that the suppression of standing armies, which came into force on the day when the communal revolution arose, ought to carry with it the odious traffic of sellers of human beings; that in principle we cannot admit the commercial *exploitation* of human beings by other human beings, and that the so-called Tolerated Houses have essentially this character: be it enacted—Art. I. The so-called Tolerated Houses shall immediately be closed in the whole of the Eleventh District, and seals shall be placed on the doors of these establishments.'"—*The New Abolitionists*, p. 87.

easy enough to get a hundred together in condemnation of the police regulation of prostitution, but that it would be dangerous to do so. When she asked, "But how so?" the reply was, "there was too much hatred—hatred of the police authorities and of the whole regime, which drills the daughters of France like soldiers in the service of debauchery."

In 1873, there were 12,393 "arrests" of women in Paris by the special police, on the charge of evading the police registration or the surgical examinations, and M. Lecour demands still more extended powers for the police, and the monstrous and almost incredible proposal has been publicly attributed to him that every woman residing in Paris in lodgings by herself should be subjected to periodical police supervision, and to registration as a prostitute, and to periodical surgical examination if required by the police.

CHAPTER V.

INEVITABLE MORAL INJURY FROM SUCH LEGISLATION—PROOFS FROM OFFICIALS UNDER THE C. D. ACTS, AND FROM DR. JEANNEL AND M. LECOUR, IN FRANCE—EXTRAORDINARY LETTERS ILLUSTRATING THIS, AND EVIDENCES FROM INDIA AND HONG KONG—PROOFS FROM PARIS, ZURICH, AND PESTH—MORAL TONE OF MEDICAL PRESS LOWERED. CAPTAIN HARRIS'S OFFICIAL STATEMENTS OF THEIR ALLEGED MORAL BENEFITS EXAMINED—ALLEGED REDUCTION OF PROSTITUTES AND BROTHELS, AND "RECLAMATIONS" CRITICISED—INSPECTOR ANNISS' ASTOUNDING STATEMENTS EXAMINED—INFLUENCE OF THIS LEGISLATION UPON MARRIAGE AND ILLEGITIMACY.

THE MORAL EVILS RESULTING FROM THIS LEGISLATION.

It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that there is no question connected with the subject which is so fiercely contested in England as the moral results of the Contagious Diseases Acts; their opponents, on the one hand, saying that only moral evil can result from such legislation; and some of their advocates, on the other, maintaining that no machinery has ever been devised that has produced such moral benefits among the Prostitutes as these Acts.

In proportion as their alleged sanitary benefits become more and more doubtful, so do their advocates contend more strenuously for the moral benefits which they say they have produced, although there is not a word

in the Acts themselves in the direction of morality, except the provision of a chaplain to the venereal hospitals; and there is nothing which empowers the police acting under them to interfere with the grossest indecency or disorder in the streets, to check juvenile prostitution, or in any way to control the conduct of prostitutes, beyond seeing that they are all registered, and attend punctually at the periodical examinations.

There are many questions in which the remote results of legislation are more permanent and important than its immediate apparent fruits; and there are few subjects in which it is more necessary to bear this in view than in considering the question of "regulating" or "licensing" prostitution. We here employ the two words almost indifferently, for the moral result is the same, whichever is adopted in practice; and the advocates of legislation, in this direction, are themselves indifferent (as we have shewn in Chap. I.), as to which word is employed. It may happen that the immediate apparent sequel of such legislation is a reduction in the number of glaring prostitutes in the streets, and the reformation of some of those who, while in hospital, are subjected to the beneficial and moral influences of kindness and general decorum, and the special exhortations of persons earnest in the cause of their reformation; and these tangible results impress many persons in favour of such legislation, without their considering that the apparent greater decency in the streets, (which is seen,) may be owing to influences quite independent of the "regulating" of the prostitutes, and may be associated with increased and deeper degradation in the brothels, (which is unseen); that the reduction of open and glaring prostitution may be more than compensated by an increase of hidden, but not less dangerous, profligacy, in the form of clandestine prostitution; and that the reformation of some of the inmates of the hospitals may be accompanied by the deadening of all consciousness of moral guilt in the others, and the confirmation of the great majority in their vicious career, by their practical daily experience (which is far more powerful and enduring in its effects than any mere exhortations), that extraordinary and exceptional provisions are made for their comfort and cure while they continue in their course of profligacy, which are immediately stopped on their return to the paths of virtue, and have never been supplied at all to those who have never strayed.

This is the practical and inevitable teaching of every such system,

whether it is called "regulation" or "licensing," or by any other name. The women are taught, by experience, that the State provides comforts and medical care for this special form of vice and its consequences, which it provides in no other case. That only the vicious can partake of the benefits of this special care, and that they lose it as soon as they become virtuous; while those who have never gone astray can never participate in it at all, though they may be the innocent subjects of disease, imparted by their profligate husbands. Men are practically taught that continence is no longer a duty, for the State has made provision, as far as possible, to enable them to sin with impunity; and the youth of every country where such legislation exists, is also taught, as soon as old enough to comprehend it, that so far from this sin being considered in them to be blameable or to be avoided, the State has so entirely assumed that it will be practiced by youth, and so largely practiced, that it has gone out of its way, and has made costly and elaborate arrangements, involving the grossest injustice upon women, in order, before-hand, to make this sin as free from danger to him as possible. The State has provided, that if women are in such a condition of health as to expose the voluntary partners of their sin to danger of infection, they shall be secluded in prison hospitals until all risk of its being communicated to their vicious associates is over, by their restoration to health; but if the women are free from disease, they may pursue their vicious practices without hinderance, and the State will not only not interfere, but it will even encourage them, by preventing, as far as possible, the competition of rivals, who evade, or endeavour to evade, the government regulations. Even if it should be granted, for the sake of argument, that the sanitary results of such a system should be favourable in checking, in some degree, this particular form of bodily disease, yet this result of legislation can only be accomplished by the youth of a country having this lesson practically taught, that such misconduct is naturally expected from them; by men seeing that State provision is made to protect them from the consequences of their own corrupt conduct; and by poor women finding that the prostitute is a specially privileged class, and one for which the State cares as it does for no other portion of the community—virtuous or vicious—healthy or diseased.

That such anticipations are not imaginary is proved by the following illustrations of the moral working of the system, both in England, where

licensing is not yet in force—in the British Dependency of Hong Kong, where it is in force, and in British India—and in France, where it has been so long in force, that more than one generation has grown up under its influence, and its results are, therefore, most fully shewn.

The Report of the British Royal Commission, already alluded to, acknowledges that such legislation does assume that prostitution is a necessity. "It is said that prostitution is recognised as a necessity by placing it under regulations; on the other hand it is contended that it is not recognised as a necessity, but the fact of its existence only is recognised. It is difficult, however, to escape from the inference, that *the State, in making provision for alleviating its evils, has assumed that prostitution is a necessity*"—(Report, sec. 48)—and "it has sought so far to control the conduct of prostitutes as to render the practice of prostitution, if not absolutely innocuous, at least much less dangerous."—(Sec. 13.) And it is a proof how little sexual immorality is considered to be deserving of blame, that the Report goes on to say (sec. 60), "We may at once reply, that there is no comparison to be made between prostitutes and the men who consort with them—with the one sex the offence is committed as a matter of gain; with the other it is an *irregular* indulgence of a *natural* impulse." The Report continues (sec. 48,) "There is some slight evidence that the protected districts are resorted to by strangers for the purpose of safe indulgence." The registered prostitutes style themselves "Queen's women," and are commonly known by that name; and it was shewn in evidence, before the Commission, that in some of the towns under the C. D. Acts the little children play at "examination" in the open streets; and the nature and objects of the examinations are openly discussed by boys and girls not exceeding eight years of age. In a recent meeting at Plymouth—a town under the Acts—one of the speakers, when denouncing the Acts because of their immoral tendency, was unable to proceed for a time from the uproar caused by a band of young men shouting, "morals be blowed, think of our health;" and Mr. Richardson, the Registrar of the Court of Probate in Cork, which is under the C. D. Acts, gave evidence before the Royal Commission, that there was a society of young men in that city which debated the matter, and came to a resolution in favour of the Acts on the express ground that it made immorality more safe for men. J. A. Phillips, one of the constables employed in the execution of the Acts, resigned his employment,

though at a great pecuniary sacrifice, from his "own observation of the immoral effects that were produced consequent upon the Acts. It was clear that there was with many women, at first going up for examination, a considerable amount of shame and sensitiveness, and afterwards a marked spirit of boldness and hardening influence." Miss Brown, the matron of the Colchester Lock Hospital, informed the Commission that "the operation of the Acts hardened the girls—they used to have a delicacy at first and used to shrink from going to the examination; but it was not so latterly: they came quite freely and without any feeling, so much levity and laughter on both going to and coming from the examination room. I thought it increased as they became more accustomed to it. I think these Acts stand in the way of the prostitutes leaving their bad life." Miss Lucy Bull, the matron of the Royal Albert Hospital, Devonport, (the principal hospital for receiving prostitutes under the Acts,) says, "I think the periodical examinations have a tendency to harden the girls and keep them in that life, they are not reclaimed so readily, and the proportion of reclamations is very much less now than under the voluntary system, and the reclamations are not real, for the 'reclaimed' women return again and again to the hospital." And lastly, the Rev. James Metcalfe, formerly chaplain of the Royal Albert Hospital, Devonport, says, "I think the examinations tend to harden the prostitute's character, and that she is more likely to persevere in that course of life than a woman not subject to periodical examinations." The above is the testimony of witnesses employed officially in carrying out the Acts, who might, therefore, be reasonably expected to think favourably rather than unfavourably of them. And the following from an avowed admirer of such legislation, viz., Dr. Parent-Duchatelet, illustrates in a striking manner the utter loss of all consciousness of moral wrong in prostitution which is produced by such legislation, as we are considering. The three following letters are extracted from his great work on "*Les Dâmes ou Maitresses de Maison*," Paris:—

An old woman aged eighty, addressed the Prefect in these terms:—

"Eighty years of age, and the mother of a large family, I implore, M. le Prefect, your help and protection. You, the father of the poor, the support of the widow and orphan, the prop of the afflicted, the asylum of the wretched, you will surely not refuse my request. At such an advanced age, and feeling myself on the point of surrendering myself to God and appearing in the presence of my Creator, it is my

"duty to provide for the wants of my children, and to hand down to them the means of livelihood."

She then went on to request the Prefect to grant her daughter and grand-daughter licenses to keep *Maisons de Tolérance*.

Another writes, requesting to be licensed, in the following terms:—

"M. le Prefect:—I have only you as a resource to lean upon; burdened with "a family of tender years, I implore you not to refuse me an honest means of livelihood "and of bringing up my children. Deprive me not, M. le Prefect, of a consolation of "which an afflicted mother stands in so great need."

M. le Prefect:—"Madlle. D—— has the honour to explain to you the cruel "reverses of fortune, that would have driven her to the final act of despair if she had "not been sustained by a sentiment of religion from parting with that which comes "from above. Her grave and circumspect conduct, the care she has taken of her "father and mother, and that she lavishes on her children, have won for her the "esteem and consideration of all the better class of people; being unable to bring "herself to work, she desires to be authorised to receive at her house six women, &c., &c."

Here we have a woman of 80 years of age "feeling that she is on the point of appearing in the presence of her creator," and pleading that it is "her duty to provide for the wants of her children." We have a woman "with a family of tender years" imploring the Prefect "not to refuse her an *honest* means of livelihood." And lastly we have an unmarried woman "sustained by the sentiment of religion" from committing suicide in consequence of reverses of fortune, all intreating to be licensed to become brothel keepers to discharge "*their duty* to others" or "to obtain an *honest* livelihood."

If we turn to what are sometimes called the "respectable classes," the same deadening influence on the moral perception is found there, as is shown by the following testimonial given by "respectable" citizens of Paris to a brothel keeper, which is translated from *L'Avenir des Femmes* of the month of February, 1877:—

"The mistress of a *Maison publique*, the woman Fiévé and her son have just been condemned to imprisonment by the Correctional Tribunal of Paris—the mother for a fortnight, and the son for six months, on a criminal charge.

"During the hearing of the case, the accused produced the following certificate of her good and moral life (*bonne vie et mœurs*), given to her by twenty merchants and *propriétaires* of her neighbourhood:—

"We, the undersigned *propriétaires* and merchants of the Boulevard de Belleville, declare that Madame Louise Joly (married name Fiévé), dwelling in the Boulevard de la Chapelle, has kept a *Maison de Tolérance* on the Boulevard de Belleville since 1849, that many of us have known her ever since that time, and that she has gained the esteem of

each of us through her morality (*sic*) and her goodness of heart. She is very charitable, and always ready to render a service whenever the opportunity presented itself. We consider her a very *respectable* and honest woman, and a *good mother of a family*. She is, moreover, much respected in her neighbourhood.”

THE PRINCIPLE OF “REGULATING” OR LICENSING PROSTITUTION IS ESSENTIALLY AN IMMORAL ONE, BY THE CONFESSION OF ITS OWN ADVOCATES.

There is no more determined and thorough-going advocate of this legislation than Dr. Jeannel of Bordeaux, who has recently published the second edition of a large work in favour of police regulation of prostitution* and its extension by international treaties throughout the world. But he is clear-sighted enough to see that any law which regulates this vice (page 306) thereby recognises it, makes it a profession, and confers rights on it (page 323), and gives it a sanction; for, what it forbids, under certain conditions of health, or in public places, &c., is thereby authorised under other conditions (p. 302). Therefore, as he informs his readers, no legislature (p. 305) has ever ventured to take up such a position. “Did law occupy the ground,” he says, “*it would become the accomplice of immorality, and would incur public contempt.*” (p. 306.)

His plan is, therefore, not to have a law upon the subject of “regulation,” but to have a law authorising the police to make what rules they think necessary for the management of their towns—apparently thinking that by putting the responsibility upon the police, he relieves the law from the infamy of sanctioning vice.

The “public contempt” which the British nation justly incurs from the Chinese for licensing brothels in Hong Kong, has been already mentioned, and it will not be lessened by the evidence given by Lord Sandhurst and Dr. Ross before the Royal Commission, that when a British Regiment arrives in India a printed form is filled up ordering so much provender for the horses, so many assistants in the stables, &c., and *so many prostitutes for the soldiers, while others are to be kept in readiness in case the number first ordered is not sufficient.* These prostitutes are ordered by the Doctor of the Regiment, the number being proportioned to its character as a moral or an immoral regiment, and the whole is countersigned by the commanding officer as a mere matter of course.

* *De la Prostitution dans les grande villes aux dix neuvième siecle et de l'extinction des maladies veneriennes* par Dr. J. Jeannel, 2nd Ed., Paris, 1874.

A brothel keeper was recently fined in Hong Kong for some effence committed in the brothel, in revenge for which the other brothel keepers closed their houses. The head of the British Police Department officially informed them that if the brothels were not re-opened immediately, and their lanthorns hung out as signals as usual, their licenses would all be taken away, and would not be restored on application. The local newspaper which reported this added, that in consequence of this threat the brothel keepers "had the good sense to submit," and re-opened their houses of infamy as usual, *under the license of the British Government.*

In the Report of the Royal Commission it is stated (sec. 55), that a popular impression prevailed among the men, that the acts were passed "for the purpose of furnishing clean girls for the army and navy"—and the women themselves, in the subjected towns, maintain that they are as much the Queen's women, or "Government girls," as the men are the Queen's soldiers or sailors, and they consider themselves licensed by the Government, and that any fault they may be guilty of does not consist in being a prostitute, but in being unhealthy.

In the evidence before the Royal Commission, it was stated that the prostitutes had become better clothed, better fed, better lodged, and more attractive, but that profligacy had not diminished, but rather increased, as a consequence; and M. Lecour testifies to the increase of profligacy in Paris, when replying to the taunts of Dr. Jeannel as to the amount of disease in that city. He says (p. 47, &c.), in the last edition of his work on Prostitution in Paris:—"Not only the police, but all the world, knows the cause of *the increase of prostitution.* Religious feeling is weakened: the desire of luxury is spread throughout society: tolerance of venal and scandalous intrigues has entered into our ethics; and consequently police repression of libertinism has become more difficult to exercise." And at page 57 he continues:—"We cannot touch on these questions without being saddened. We may recognise *amelioration as far as outward disorder is concerned*, but we are none the less sensible that the *ever rising tide of debauchery* is due to causes which repression in detail cannot reach." . . . "We must nurse the hope that the rising generation will be better protected by religious teaching, by education, by the solicitude and authority of family life against those seductions which everywhere meet it, and are yet more increased by the manifestations in every form of the superficial and

glittering luxury which characterises our epoch." And this is not the statement of the fanatical, and "wilfully ignorant," and "self-righteous" opponents of this legislation, but is the confession extorted by Jeannel from the cold and official head of the Bureau des Mœurs, after Paris has had nearly a hundred years of police regulation of prostitution. But what are Jeannel's charges? That the streets of Paris and all places of public resort are crowded with the abandoned (p. 182); that cabs, coffee houses, public houses, railway stations, theatres, hotels, lodging houses (p. 182), and shops (p. 196) are used as their lairs or hunting grounds; that scandalous scenes are enacted in the streets; that the hospitals for venereal diseases are crowded (p. 386), and yet these hospitals do not receive above one-fifth of those who are under treatment for these diseases (p. 386); and that the number of diseased is larger than in London (p. 684), which has never been under such legislation. And this is the picture drawn by an enthusiastic advocate of this legislation. We need not ourselves recite, for they are but too well known, the deeds and exhibitions of profligacy which are of daily occurrence in Paris—that beautiful city—the joy of the European Continent—but also the place for scenes of darkness that it would be a shame even to mention.

Dr. Després, late Head Surgeon to the Lourcine hospital, said recently in a speech, at a very large meeting in Paris, "The efforts of the police have been, at least in Paris, a complete failure. They protect nobody from the blood poison arising from the class of maladies to which I allude, and they tread down a sound principle. In Brussels, where prostitution is a hundred times more severely regulated than in Paris, or any other town, the number of marriages has diminished 8 per cent. Hence a notable decrease of births among the classes having the means to bring up their progeny decently, and an increase in the back slums of the city. Pesth comes next to Brussels, and there marriages diminish rapidly, whilst prostitution fearfully increases. Antiquity presents examples of the withering effect on population of the luxury falsely called a high-comfort standard, and the *kind of vice which, I am bound to declare, police regulations stimulate*. The more the fallacious belief is inculcated that the contagion can be stopped by police supervision, the greater disinclination will men feel for marriage and the austere duties it involves. They will become effeminate and shrink from the burdens their shoulders were made to bear. At the same time the field for the courtesan will be

widened ; with the increasing demand for her, women brought up to earn their bread with the work of their hands will allow themselves to receive what will appear to them to be the easy gains of debauchery. What must be—looking facts steadily in the face—the great total of all this ? National loss of vigour, industrial deterioration, physiological poverty, the death of every noble sentiment, and social misery.”—*London Weekly Despatch*, Feb. 11, 1877.

In Brussels, which is almost the *beau idéal* of the advocates of this legislation, the shop windows in the most frequented and fashionable streets exhibit engravings that would subject any vendor of such things in England to a criminal prosecution, and the debased moral tone which permits and encourages such exhibitions is further shewn by the entire absence of concealment about illicit connections.

“It is universally said, by the principal and thoughtful inhabitants of Brussels, that immorality is universally diffused throughout that city. ‘The moral nerve has been extracted from the people of Brussels,’ said one gentleman in conversation with me, ‘Everybody has a mistress ; wives know their husbands’ mistresses, fathers know their sons’ mistresses, sisters know their brothers’ mistresses,’ said another. ‘Immorality is so cheap,’ said a third, ‘that the Maisons Tolérées are not well attended.’ These are the statements not of one or another person, but of every thoughtful person with whom I have conversed in Brussels, and I have met persons there of all classes in society whose evidence is cumulative and not repetitive.”—*Prof. Stuart, Fel. Trin. Coll., Camb., (Eng.) Medical Enquirer*, Nov. 15, 1876.

The city of Zurich, in Switzerland, after long experience of regulated brothels, abolished them in June, 1874 ; and the Municipal Council issued a proclamation, that “Toleration gives rise to a fatal confusion of ideas—men become accustomed to regard what is protected as a permitted thing—the young lose all ideas of good conduct—a moral confusion no less fatal is produced among the police—to admit any sort of compromise with a trade fundamentally evil is to enter upon a path fruitless of every good result.”

EFFECTS OF THE SYSTEM UPON THE MORAL TONE OF THE BRITISH MEDICAL PRESS.

The tendency of familiarity with the periodical examinations essential for this legislation, to lower and harden the moral tone, is illustrated by

the change that has taken place in the language of the *Medical Times and Gazette* (London,) one of the oldest medical periodicals published. A few years since, when the latest Act was passed, extending these examinations over eight times the extent of country, and enforcing them with additionally severe penalties, the editor wrote as follows :—

“THERE IS NOTHING WHICH WOULD TEND MORE TO DEPRIVE MEDICINE
“OF THE RANK OF A RESPECTABLE CALLING, THAN THE FACT, THAT
“PRACTITIONERS SHOULD BE FOUND WILLING TO LEND THEMSELVES TO
“THE DIRTY WORK OF EXAMINING PROSTITUTES, IN ORDER TO ENABLE
“THEM TO CARRY ON THEIR TRADE, AND EVEN, AS HAS BEEN PROPOSED,
“INSTRUCTING THEM IN THE ART OF INJECTING, SO THAT THEY MAY
“SIN WITH SAFETY. IF THE HEADS OF THE PROFESSION, OR THE
“COLLEGES, EVER DESIRE AN OPPORTUNITY OF PROTECTING THEIR
“MEMBERS FROM DEGRADATION, HERE IS ONE.”

But now, after some years' familiarity, the same journal can scarcely find terms scornful enough and contemptuous enough, when speaking of the *Opponents* of these very examinations about which it wrote as above, before its professional moral perception had been affected by familiarity with the evil.

Throughout the evidence before the Venereal Commission, and also before the Royal Commission, the witnesses were unanimous in saying that the medical officers of the Army and Navy felt that it was degrading to them, as medical men, to examine the *soldiers* and *sailors* periodically to see if they were free from venereal disease, and that the *men* refused or objected to be examined, and the commanding officers testified that such examinations lowered the tone of the *men*, and did injury to the service; and accordingly, by an official order, the periodical examinations of the men in the Army and Navy were discontinued. And now the same witnesses assert, that there is no degradation to *women* in being subjected to them, and medical officers are ready to make those examinations upon *women* which the editor of the *Medical Times and Gazette* declared, in 1869, must “deprive medicine of the rank of a respectable calling.”

Mr. Sloggett, F.R.C.S., Inspector Gen. of Certified Hospitals under the C. D. Acts in England, whose professional income is dependent upon their maintenance, is a strong advocate of them, because of the *moral* benefits he says they have produced. But, when urging the importance of the periodical examinations of the women before the

Committee of the House of Commons, he said that it was necessary to bring *punishment* to bear upon the women to enforce their attendance at the examination-room, for *without that terror they would not come*. So they get 3 months imprisonment, with hard labour, in England, if they do not come, and in Berlin they were recently beaten with a stick.

ACCORDING TO CAPT. HARRIS'S* LAST REPORT, 283,745 OF THESE EXAMINATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE UPON HEALTHY WOMEN, ABOVE 39,000 YEARLY FOR THE LAST SEVEN YEARS, AND THE ADVOCATES OF THE ACTS WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT THEY CONDUCE POWERFULLY TO THE MORAL ELEVATION AND REFORMATION OF PROSTITUTES.—*Report*, 1875.

ASSERTED REDUCTION OF BROTHELS AND PROSTITUTES, AND THE RECLAMATION OF PROSTITUTES IN HOSPITALS, ALLEGED AS PROOFS OF THE MORAL BENEFITS PRODUCED BY THE ACTS.

In the first Act, that of 1864, there was no provision for anything but medical attendance upon diseased prostitutes in hospital; but when this Act was repealed, and the much more extensive and penal Act of 1866 was passing through the House of Commons, Mr. Ayrton, M.P., urged, in addition, that a chaplain should at any rate be appointed to each hospital, as well as a doctor, which was accordingly done; and now the advocates of the Acts do not cease to proclaim, that the moral benefit to the prostitutes has been as great an object of consideration as their physical treatment, though this is the only provision of any description in the Acts in the direction of morality. It has, however, been stated in the most confident terms, that the result of the Acts has been a reduction by the Special Police of brothels and prostitutes by nearly one-half in the subjected towns—a reduction of juvenile prostitutes

* NOTE.—Captain Harris's reports are appealed to, not because they are accepted as trustworthy, but because they are published by an official under the Government who has proved himself to be such an unhesitating partizan of the Acts that his statements will certainly be in their favour if it is possible to make them so. They are, however, so untrustworthy that they have been publicly challenged in the House of Commons, and their untrustworthy contents have been brought in an especial manner before the Home Secretary, who has simply replied that they are "a report to Government by a subordinate official." The Home Secretary has himself publicly administered a severe reproof of Captain Harris for the manner in which he acted in the case which recently occurred at Plymouth, related in page 20.

under 17 years of age from 227 to 2—an almost incredible increase of decency in the streets, and the reclamation of prostitutes by hundreds, as the work of the chaplains and matrons. These results, with the exception of the reclamations, have been attributed, on the other hand, by the opponents of the Acts, to the activity of the ordinary police, who have authority, by the ordinary municipal law, to take action against brothels and prostitutes as “disorderly houses or persons,” while the Special Police, under the Acts, have no power whatever to interfere with either brothels or prostitutes, unless diseased. Mr. Stephen Cave, M.P., when upholding the Acts in a debate in the House of Commons, in 1875, tauntingly challenged the opponents of the Acts to prove their case, if they could, by shewing similar reductions in towns not under the Acts. The challenge was taken up, and the result was laid before the Home Secretary, the Right Hon. R. A. Cross, M.P., in March, 1876, in an elaborate report, of which the following is the substance:—

REDUCTION OF PROSTITUTES.

(NOTE.—The same period, viz., from 1866, the date of the Acts, to 1874, the date of the latest official Return, is taken in every case.)

In 16 towns UNDER the Acts, with a population of 740,000, Prostitutes were reduced from 2,569 to 1,395, or from 100 to 54·2, according to Captain Harris’s statement.

In 30 similar towns NOT under the Acts, with a population of nearly four millions, Prostitutes were reduced from 8,504 to 4,833, or from 100 to 56·8.

The difference which is claimed in favour of the Acts is scarcely two and a-half per cent., which nullifies the assertion that it is the Acts which have produced the improvement in the subjected towns.

REDUCTION OF BROTHELS.

In the same 16 towns UNDER the Acts, brothels were reduced from 933 to 439, or from 100 to 47·0, according to Captain Harris.

In the same 30 towns NOT under the Acts, brothels were reduced from 3,758 to 2,109, or from 100 to 56·1.

It will be seen that the reduction of prostitutes and brothels was apparently greatest in the towns under the Acts. The following explanation of this circumstance is submitted to our readers, who will judge for themselves as men of the world.

The statistics of the number of prostitutes and brothels in the towns under the Acts are published every year by Captain Harris, the assistant-commissioner of the metropolitan police, and head of the special police under the Acts. It is the duty of these police to know every prostitute in the towns under the Acts, to put them all upon the police register, and to see that they go up regularly every fortnight to be examined by the surgeon, and to send them to prison if they neglect to go up. And these duties, Captain Harris reports, they perform so strictly, that there are no clandestine prostitutes in any of these towns, and the women scarcely ever miss the examinations. It is at present a great object with the advocates of the Acts to make it appear that they are most beneficial moral agents, and especially that they have reduced, if not destroyed, juvenile prostitution; and the most extraordinary reduction is stated to have taken place especially, as hereafter mentioned, in Plymouth and Devonport. The statements thus put forward by the police are very natural, and are generally incapable of disproof from official sources; but an important official disproof of Capt. Harris's Statistics has just occurred at Southampton, which is under the Acts. He publishes in his last Annual Report that there is not in that town, and that there never has been, since the Act has been in force, a prostitute under the age of 16, and that there was not one of the age of 17 in 1874, and only one in 1875. But a School Board has been recently appointed in Southampton under the new Education Act, and one of its first duties has been to ascertain the ages of children, between 5 and 13, absent from School, and the cause of absence, and the announcement is made, by the authority of the Chairman and the Secretary of the Board, that the enquiry has shewn that there were 20 girls, under 13 years of age, who were prostitutes. In Winchester, also, Capt. Harris reports that there were only 23 prostitutes of any age whatever in 1875, the numbers having gradually fallen from 76, when the Act was first put in force. But the promoters of a "Midnight Mission," sent out recently invitations to 36 women, by name, who were known to them to be prostitutes, and 26 accepted the invitation and attended the meeting. Now if the School Board, which has no purpose to serve in the matter of the ages of prostitutes, finds, on simple enquiry, that there are 20 girls under 13 years of age in Southampton, where the Acts-Police—which have a purpose to serve*—state

* See Appendix.

that there never has been one even under 16 ; and if the friends of the Midnight Mission know of at least 36 prostitutes in Winchester, where the Acts-Police state there are only 23, it is evident that the returns of the Acts-Police are not to be relied upon, whether the discrepancy is due to intention or to ignorance on their part. But there is more than ground to suppose the omission of the full number to be intentional, from the strong inducement the police have to shew a result in favour of the moral operation of the Acts by an apparent reduction of prostitutes. In Windsor and Shorncliffe, two of the places under these Acts, there are on an average (according to Captain Harris's returns) from 20 to 30 prostitutes in each town constantly on the register, and so strictly looked after by the police, that they do not miss their examinations. In spite, however, of all these examinations, they are so much diseased, that on an average above 400 soldiers are sent into hospital yearly from these two towns, suffering from venereal diseases ; and yet Captain Harris reports to the Government, and publishes to the country, that for three years in succession *there has not been a single "brothel," or "lodging house," or "public house," or "beerhouse," or any "other" place* (for he specifies each of these separately), *in Windsor, or fifteen miles round it, in which any one of these prostitutes has met her military or any other associates ;* and he makes a statement almost as strong about Shorncliffe for a period still longer.* This marvellous state of things easily accounts for the great asserted reduction in the number of brothels in the towns under the Acts. When Captain Harris's attention was drawn to it, he replied, that he saw no reason to *doubt* its truth. Our readers must judge for themselves, as men of the world, whether they see any reason for *believing* its truth—and must judge also how far the Acts are *proved* to have reduced either prostitutes or brothels. That the number who are *registered* is reduced is not disputed, for the police can use their own discretion as to how many or how few they register, according as they wish to swell or to reduce the apparent amount of prostitutes.

RECLAMATION OF PROSTITUTES.

This is a question upon which it is impossible to obtain statistics that admit of substantiation. Previous to the passing of the Acts, the evidence

* He states that there are two "public-houses" in Shorncliffe which are used as brothels, but there have been no other places of meeting there, of any description, for the last four years known to the police.

that had been laid before the public by Mr. Acton, the most careful and elaborate author on the subject, and an ardent promoter of the Acts, was to the effect, that about four years was the average length of time that women remained prostitutes. They left their debased occupation either by marriage, or returning to their friends, or going into a reformatory, or resuming honest occupations of some kind, (but very rarely, by death not 1 per cent.) at the rate of about 25 per cent. yearly—and if this gradual removal continued, as might naturally be expected, there would be no evidence of the Acts having done either good or harm in this respect. But the fact has become manifest, from Capt. Harris's returns to Government, that the prostitutes are becoming year by year an increasingly permanent class, so that there are now half as many more who continue prostitutes to 26 years of age as there were before the Acts were put in force;—twice as many who remain until they are 31—and nearly three times as many as formerly who remain beyond this age. It is proved, in short, that either because the occupation is more profitable, or the difficulty of escaping from it is greater, above twice as many remain in it to 31 years of age and upwards as formerly.

The Royal Commission reported very cautiously on the subject of reclamation: "Many of the women, on their discharge from the hospitals, had been induced to enter refuges or homes." Upon this point we are unable to offer any additional evidence of an unquestionable character. Captain Harris claims for the Acts that the *number who entered homes* gradually rose year by year to 244 in 1870, and 273 in 1871, but *since then the numbers have fallen* to 252, 200, and to 212 in 1874. There is no evidence given as to the permanence of these reclamations, and on the other hand, the managers of the Homes of Rescue say that reclamation is hindered by the Acts, and that the women who have been subjected to them are less easily influenced than formerly. (*See the various Reports from time to time issued by the London Rescue Society.*)

REPEATED REGISTRATION OF THE SAME WOMEN AS HAVING BEEN
"RECLAIMED."

In answer to the Questions 969 and 970, put to Insp. Annis by the Royal Commission, "you have told us 90 per cent. you believe of those permanently removed from the register in Devonport were reclaimed—but you surely cannot mean that—there must be some mistake;" he

replied, "No, I have nothing to retract from that." Question 971:—"With regard to those who have left the district, I presume you have no idea at all of what becomes of them?" Ans.—"I should not at the time, my returns being made up weekly; but in most of these cases I find, on subsequent enquiries, that they have returned to their friends, and are getting honest livelihoods." Q. 9177:—"Then in your experience has it often happened, not from design but oversight, that the same woman has been registered three or four times as reformed, so as to make it appear that instead of one woman there have been three or four reformed?" Ans.—"No: it very rarely occurs. *It has in something like 60 or 70 cases in the whole.* In 60 or 70 cases women were registered twice or three times—*not more than three times.*"

MORAL BENEFITS SAID TO HAVE RESULTED FROM THE C. D. ACTS IN ENGLAND, ACCORDING TO THE STATEMENT OF INSPECTOR ANNISS.

The asserted moral benefits are almost always based upon the returns of one single inspector, viz. Inspector Anniss, and in the one single station which is under his charge, viz. Plymouth and Devonport. The moral results claimed by all the other inspectors in all the other stations put together are so moderate that no advocate of the Acts would parade them as proofs of great moral success. The character and trustworthiness of Mr. Anniss's statements are therefore of peculiar importance, and call for investigation with especial care, which is made in the following pages:—

THE PROTEST OF THE FOLLOWING ROYAL COMMISSIONERS AGAINST THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION WAS PRINTED ALONG WITH THE REPORT.—"We are of opinion that *reliance* cannot be placed upon the statement (by Mr. Anniss) that the number of prostitutes in Devonport has been reduced since 1864 from 2,621 to 557. This statement is contradicted by the evidence of the local police and other witnesses. Signed—Peter Rylands, A. J. Mundella, R. Applegarth, Holmes Coote."

The "reliability," or otherwise, of Inspector Anniss's statistics is the more strongly dwelt upon, because they are so constantly selected, either consciously or unconsciously, by advocates of the Acts, as if they offered an average illustration of the effects of such legislation. In an important paper in the "*Annales D'Hygiène et de Médecine Légale*," Dr. Jeannel, one of the most influential advocates of such Acts on the continent, in speaking of the "*enormous proportion*" in which the number of prostitutes has been reduced in England by these Acts, says—"In one single district

there were 377 (apparently a mistake for 227) prostitutes under 17 years of age, and 395 less than 18 years of age. On the 31st December, 1872, there were not more than 2 prostitutes under 18 years of age." It would sound very differently if he had said that "in 16 districts under the Acts the number of prostitutes under 18 years of age had been reduced, in 8 years, from 9 on the average in each district to 3." This would scarcely be spoken of as an "enormous" reduction. Inspector Annis informed the Royal Commission (questions 495-9, 503, 506, 527, 567-9, 814-15, 823, 826, 844-7) that he obtained his numbers by going for a fortnight from brothel to brothel, and seeing the prostitutes himself in nearly every instance, and "jotting down their names." He did his work day by day, leaving home about 8 a.m., and returning at 1 p.m. During this period of 5 hours, he visited daily 43 brothels and 220 prostitutes—i.e. he visited above 8 brothels, and saw and jotted down the names of 44 prostitutes per hour. He did this with such care, that he is sure he never took the same woman down twice, though many of them were of the lowest character, and were sleeping out in brickfields and similar places; and even the better class seldom remained more than two or three days in the same house. Any one who has had experience in going from house to house, to obtain statistical information about the inmates, will form his own judgment as to the "reliability" of such information obtained at the rate of above 8 houses and 44 inmates per hour.

Thus,* according to Insp. Annis's evidence before the Royal Commission, every tenth woman in Devonport, and one in every ten girls between 13 and 15 years old, must have been a "common prostitute" in 1864.

* The following COMPARISON between Insp. Annis's statements about his own results in the Devonport District, and those of 16 other Inspectors in 16 other Districts *under* the Acts, and of 30 Chief Constables of towns *not* under the Acts, is supplied in order to furnish data for judging his "Reliability :"—

Inspector Annis. Devon'pt & Plym'th. Population in 1861— 127,382.	16 Inspectors in 16 Districts <i>under</i> the Acts, Population in 1861— 526,564.	30 Chief Constables of Towns <i>not</i> under the Acts. Population in 1866— 3,272,896.
2,521 common prostitutes in 1864.—i.e. one in every 48·6 of the population. Women average about one-fifth of the population throughout the whole country; therefore his returns would prove that a fifth of 48·6, or every tenth woman in Devonport and Plymouth, was a "Common Prostitute."	No returns for 1861.	No returns for 1861.

In 17 stations named in Capt. Harris's Return for 1874, the total number of women and girls said to be saved from ruin is stated to be 254, of which Inspector Annis claims 142 as his share of the good work—that is to say, the whole of the other Inspectors of Police claim to have saved from ruin in Portsmouth, Aldershot, Chatham, Colchester, and all the remaining stations put together, very much less than he has accomplished in the one station of Devonport.

In Return No. 6, he claims to have restored to the paths of virtue, in Devonport alone, no less than 137 young girls and women from 15 to 30 years of age, while the remaining sixteen inspectors all put together had only claimed to have restored 69—just one-half the number among them all that he had accomplished single-handed.

	Inspector Annis. Devon'pt & Plym'th Population in 1861— 127,382.	16 Inspectors in 16 Districts under the Acts. Population in 1861— 526,564.	30 Chief Constables of Towns not under the Acts. Population in 1866— 3,272,896.
Prostitutes—Proportion per 1,000 of population at the date when the Acts were applied	9.7	4.9 or half the asserted Devonport ratio.	2.6 in 1866—about two-thirds the ratio of the subjected Districts.
„ Proportion per 10,000 of population—under 15 years of age	8.5	0.26 or $\frac{1}{38}$ the ratio of Devonport.	0.06—about $\frac{1}{6}$ the ratio of the subjected Towns, but the returns are very imperfect.
„ under 17 „	15.7	1.04 or $\frac{1}{15}$ „	No record.
„ „ 18 „	17.8	2.8 or $\frac{1}{35}$ „	No record.
Number of prostitutes between 16 and 17 years of age	576 in the Devonport District alone.	379 in the 16 Districts, or 23 for each District.	No record.
Reduction in the number of prostitutes of all ages, between 1866 (the date of the Act) and 1874	65.4 per 100	45.8 per 100.	43.2 per 100.
„ „ 15 years of age	From 109 to 0.	From 14 to 1—not one for each Inspector.	From 22 to 9.
„ „ 18 years of age	From 227 to 2.	From 149 to 49, or 6 for each Inspector.	No record.
Women and girls “saved from ruin”	142 by Annis.	112 by 16 other Inspectors, or 7 for each.	
Young girls and women “restored to the paths of virtue.”	137 by Annis.	69 „ or 4 for each.	

In Return No. 2, he claims "13 common women" *under* 14 years of age for Devonport alone, whilst there are only 8 of this age in the remaining sixteen stations put together. He puts down 576 prostitutes for Devonport alone between 16 and 17 years of age, leaving 379 to be divided among the remaining sixteen stations, or less than 24 each against his 576. If, further, the *reduction* in the number of prostitutes is examined, Portsmouth reduced the prostitutes of 18 years old from 72 to 30, or above half in nine years; Woolwich from 14 to 3, or three-fourths; Aldershot from 8 to 5, or nearly one-half. But Anniss, in Devonport, has reduced them from 227 to just 2. Either the other inspectors have been grossly remiss in their exertions, or else Mr. Anniss's statements are "unreliable," and the moral benefit said on his authority to have resulted from Acts which contain no provision in the direction of morality, are without foundation and without weight.

INFLUENCE OF THIS LEGISLATION ON MARRIAGE AND ILLEGITIMACY.

The influence of this legislation upon the morals of a people, when it has been in force for a sufficient length of time to produce its natural result, is strikingly illustrated by the following table, shewing the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births in places where it has long been in force, compared with similar places where it is not in force; and also, the proportion of marriages in England where it has only recently been attempted by law to render "the practise of prostitution, if not absolutely innocuous, at least much less dangerous;" and in Belgium which is almost regarded by the advocates of this legislation as their beau ideal.

In France generally, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is 7·4 per cent. In Paris it is 26·6 per cent., *i.e.* above one-fourth of the children born in Paris are illegitimate.—*See a letter by M. Donat Sautter de Blonay, of Trelex, Canton Vaud, in the "Continental Bulletin," 1876.*

In England generally, the proportion is 5·6 per cent., not widely different from that of France generally; but in London, where such legislation has never existed, it is only 3·96 per cent., or barely one-seventh of the proportion in Paris, which has been under the training of such legislation for nearly a hundred years.—*Registrar General's Returns, 1871.*

In Switzerland generally, the proportion is 5·7 per cent., not differing much from the proportion in England or France. We do not

possess the data for any of the large Swiss cities, so as to complete the comparison, but we are able to make a comparison as to the number of illegitimate children compared with the population between Geneva, which has for some years been under the influence of such laws, and London, which has not. In Geneva the proportion in 1870 (the latest information we possess), was 1 illegitimate child to every 283 inhabitants, while in London it was 1 illegitimate child to every 701 inhabitants.

The natural effect of such legislation to promote illicit connections and discourage honourable marriage with its responsibilities and cares, is shewn by the following comparison between Belgium and England for the 10 years preceding the introduction of the Acts into England.

During the years 1856 to 1865, the marriages per 1,000 individuals in Belgium were 251 between 20 and 40 years of age, *i.e.* during the probable period of having a family, or 25 per 1,000 yearly, while in England they were 399, or nearly 40 per 1,000 yearly. It would be difficult to find two countries more fairly comparable in agricultural fertility and manufacturing industry, in general social comfort and prosperity, in healthy climate and liberal institutions; and their remarkable difference as to marriages points clearly to such a moral cause as we have been considering in the foregoing pages.—*See M. Donat Sautter de Blonay's letter, and Registrar General's Returns, 1871.*

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL UPRISING AGAINST THIS LEGISLATION IN ENGLAND, AND ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE—CONDEMNATION OF THIS LEGISLATION IN THE CHIEF TOWNS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, BOTH SUBJECTED AND UNSUBJECTED—OPPOSITION TO THE ACTS FROM CABINET MINISTERS IN ENGLAND, AND FROM VARIOUS ASSOCIATIONS, RELIGIOUS AND MEDICAL—PETITIONS FOR AND AGAINST THE ACTS IN ENGLAND—UPRISING AGAINST THEM IN FRANCE, ITALY, SWITZERLAND, BELGIUM, DENMARK, AND HOLLAND—IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND IN BOMBAY—APPROACHING INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS IN GENEVA TO ADVOCATE THE ABOLISHING OF STATE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION.

ENGLAND.

As soon as the true character of the C. D. Acts was known in England, opposition to them commenced, which has gained strength to

the present time, and increases throughout the country with every increase of knowledge on the subject. In towns where complete apathy previously existed, it has only been necessary to inform the inhabitants by the aid of public meetings and otherwise, for indignation to arise, adding another and another centre of opposition to these Acts. Public meetings have been held in the largest and most influential towns *under their operation*, viz. Chatham, Cork, Dover, Gravesend, Greenwich, Portsmouth, Plymouth and Devonport, Sheerness, Shorncliffe, and Woolwich, and the Acts have been condemned either by a unanimous vote of the meeting, or by very large majorities; and in almost all the large towns throughout England and Scotland, and also in Dublin, votes of unmixed condemnation have been passed.

The following members of the late liberal government have voted for repeal, viz.:—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, and Mr. Childers. This last name has additional importance, because Mr. Childers had previously spoken in favour of these Acts in the House of Commons, and he had actively supported them while First Lord of the Admiralty.

The advocates of the Acts have not ventured to call a single public meeting in their favour since public attention has been aroused, although, as stated in the Report of the Royal Commission previously referred to (page 10), an Association was formed for their extension over the whole country, before their true nature was known; but in its latest Report the Association says, that, in the present state of public feeling on the subject, they do not propose to attempt their further extension. The *Fortnightly Review*, an able and important index of the direction of public opinion in Great Britain, recently said: "If there is one sentiment or opinion in which the working-classes over the country are unanimous, it is in hostility to certain unnameable Acts for garrison towns. The sentiment may be a mistake—of its merits we say nothing—but as a plain matter of fact, this is the sentiment not only of the working-class, but of the great mass of Dissenters and of Evangelical Professors generally." Some idea, though an imperfect one, may be formed of the hostility to these Acts, from the fact that the *Methodist Conference* has officially pronounced against them, and that an influential Methodist organ is published, which is devoted to opposition to them. The *Free Church of Scotland*, the *Society of Friends*, the *Baptist Union*, and other religious

bodies have entered warmly into the contest against them. A memorial, signed by upwards of 2000 clergymen of the *Church of England*, has been presented against them, and another signed by 885 Congregational Ministers, and *Cardinal Manning*, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in England, has written strongly in opposition to them. Above 8000 petitions have been presented to Parliament against them, with nearly two million signatures, and this number represents the opposition very inadequately, as many of the petitions are signed by the chairmen on behalf of large public meetings, and the rule of the Houses of Parliament only allows the name to be counted as one, and does not take any cognizance of the numbers who were present at the meeting. Against this outburst of national reprobation of these Acts, are to be set 43 petitions in their favour, with 3,578 signatures.

Several associations are in existence in Great Britain for procuring the repeal of these Acts, viz. the *Ladies' National Association*, the *National Association*, and the *National Medical Association*; the *Northern Counties League*, the *Scottish National Association*, the *Working Men's National League*, the *Friends' Association*, the *Wesleyan and Congregational Associations*, the *Midland Counties Union*, and the *Dublin, Cork, and Belfast Associations*, &c., &c.

These have all federated themselves to the British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, which has branches in many parts of France, Italy, and Switzerland, as well as Belgium, Denmark, and other countries, and committees in connection with which have been recently established in the United States.

FRANCE.

Until very recently it seemed as if France either approved of this legislation, or, at any rate, acquiesced in it; but within the last two years an opposition has arisen in that country, so earnest and widespread as to be scarcely credible, even by those who most rejoice in seeing it.

In *Paris* the Municipal Council has appointed a commission for enquiring into the whole system of the Bureau des Mœurs, with a view to its abolition, after having been overruled by the Government in a previous attempt to stop the funds for the maintenance of the "Morals Police."

The Commission is still sitting while this pamphlet is in course of preparation. The Parisian papers have published a large number of detailed cases (giving names and addresses) exemplifying the atrocious injustice committed upon women in that city, which seem to be pouring like a flood upon the ears of the public; now that the spell of silence and terrorism has once been broken.

In Paris various committees have been formed, of whom Dr. Monod, M.D., M. Theodore Monod, Dr. Despres, M.D., M. Ed. de Préssensé, Madame André Walker, Madame de Mersier, and others, are active members. Madlle. de Grandpré, and other members of the great Rescue Society, "The Libérées of St. Lazare," have joined the work heartily. This Society is composed chiefly of Catholics. Besides the Protestant and Catholic groups, thus working together and apart for the same end, our cause has received the active and energetic support of the radical party, headed by M. Yves Guyot, a municipal councillor, who is at present undergoing a sentence of six months imprisonment for "outrage against the police," in the statements made in an admirable series of articles, published in one of the Paris journals, about the "Police des Mœurs"—statements which were fully substantiated by the proofs adduced. In the Provinces of France the work has received the adhesion and cordial support of the illustrious Archbishop of Orleans, Monsigneur Doupanloup, and progresses with vigour in the south of France, in connection with a very active committee at Chalons-sur-Saone. The general combination of elements of great variety in this work in France, may, perhaps, be best gathered from considering that active support is given by the following :—Mgr. Doupanloup, M. Theodore Monod, Dr. Despres, M. Charles Lemonnier, and M. Yves Guyot.

ITALY.

In Italy, Associations have been formed in the principal towns, and among the Presidents and the Officers or Members are found General Garibaldi, Count Saffi, General Joseph Avezzana, Dr. Bertani, Signor Joseph Nathan, and others, beside many illustrious Italian ladies.

M. Nicotera, the Home Minister, has declared publicly his abhorrence of the system of regulation, and his desire to see it repealed.

One of the most remarkable events in connection with the subject in Italy was the meeting in Genoa, in the autumn of 1876, of the Con-

ference of the Italian Working Men's Societies throughout that country, numbering above sixteen hundred societies, which unanimously passed a vote condemning this legislation, the question having been deliberated in each society previous to the assembling of the Congress. The following address was afterwards sent to the President of the Working Men's (British) National League for the Repeal of the C. D. Acts :—

MEMORIAL FROM 1,604 WORKING MEN'S SOCIETIES IN ITALY.

"THE WORKING MEN OF ITALY TO THE WORKING MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND.

"ROME, December 7, 1876.

"DEAR SIR—I am charged by the Executive Committee of the United Italian Working Men's Societies to forward to you a copy of the Appeal voted by acclamation at their Fourteenth Congress, held in Genoa, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th of September last.

"GIUSEPPE A. NATHAN.

"TO MR. EDMUND JONES,
"17, Christian Street, Liverpool."

"TO THE WORKING MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"Fellow-workmen—The General Congress of the United Italian Working Men's Societies, held in Genoa in September last, resolved, by a solemn and unanimous vote, to co-operate with the British and Continental Federation in their holy work for obtaining the repeal of those regulations which in many countries of Europe give State sanction to the infamous trade of prostitution.

"The Congress resolved also to issue an appeal from the United Societies to all the workmen of the various European countries, inviting them to work unanimously together in fraternal accord, so as to give to the moral crusade, proclaimed by the courageous virtue of English mothers, the mighty support of their united strength.

"The universal conscience is now thoroughly aroused to a sense of the deep dishonour and incalculable injury brought upon the people, and the working classes especially, by this old social evil, and by the sacrilegious negation of God's law and human justice which is expressed in the legalisation of this evil.

"The work, then, in which the working classes (the most threatened and injured by the cursed institution) should unite consists, according to our opinion, in an incessant cry for JUSTICE, which the laws on prostitution shamefully violate, and in an assiduous, persistent, universal propaganda against the insidious arguments of materialistic science, which condemns to infamy the sisters of man that HE may find in that infamy safety and impunity for his vices.

"The Italian Societies will fulfil this duty with all the means that the conditions of their country place at their disposal. They mean to fight openly against the establishment in the artisans' districts of HOUSES OF INFAMY, and thus to oppose opulent vice in its long-established usage of seeking hospitality, amidst the poor but honest dwellings of the working classes; they mean to stop this horrible insult to

humble virtue, so that the shame and responsibility of its own dishonour may wholly and entirely rest on privileged vice.

"The world knows that no plea of antiquity, no arrogance of science, will ever succeed in proving that the VICE of the few is USEFUL to the many, or that it is possible to secure the health of the BODY by the vilifying corruption of the SOUL.

"Signed, on behalf of the Executive Committee,

"CARLO LIZZANI.

"B. FILIPPERI.

"ROME, December, 1876."

"SIVO FAVA.

SWITZERLAND.

We have already shewn that in Zurich the Municipal Council has abolished licensed brothels, and has published the grounds, both social and moral, which have induced it to take the step; and in Geneva a strong and active opposition has arisen to the system there existing. The system of regulation does not yet exist in any other Swiss Canton, except, to some extent, in Neuchâtel, where a vigorous battle is now going on.

M. Humbert, who was formerly Counsellor of State of the Canton of Neuchâtel, and Envoy Extraordinary from Switzerland to Japan, has thrown himself with zeal into the work of the abolition of regulated prostitution, and at a great pecuniary sacrifice has devoted himself to the task of rousing his fellow-countrymen in opposition to this legislation, by which, in licensed houses, women are consigned to the most abject slavery. Escape is, for all practicable purposes, impossible, and the women are literally bought and sold for "exploitation," a word which in your free country of America and in England has as yet no meaning, but which is but too fatally known both in France, and Italy, and Switzerland, and other parts of the Continent of Europe, to mean the forcible transference from one city to another of young women for the purposes of prostitution, the women being sold for money by one brothel keeper to another, in order that there may be variety for the frequenters of these houses of infamy—the victims being totally powerless to escape from the toils of the depraved dealers in female flesh and human souls.*

In other European countries the conscience of the people is now beginning to be aroused in this question. Active committees have been

* This traffic is illegal, but the police assist the brothel keepers, and the inmates of the licensed houses are so entirely in the power of the keepers, in consequence of debt for clothes, trinkets, &c., and they are so closely watched, that escape is practically impossible.

formed in Copenhagen, and also in Leige and other parts of Belgium, and at the Hague. Editions of the *Voice in the Desert*, a publication from the pen of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, have been published not only in French, German, and Italian, but also in Danish, Spanish, and Dutch.

BOMBAY.

A very important debate has just terminated in the Municipality of Bombay, by the rejection of a proposal to reintroduce such legislation into that city. An Act similar to the English Contagious Diseases Act was recently in force in Bombay for two years, but the results were so unsatisfactory, in every point of view, that the Municipality refused to vote any further funds, and the Act expired from this cause. In April last a proposal was made to reintroduce these Acts, and it was supported by the influence of the government and the officials, but after a most thorough and earnest debate, extending over three days, the proposal was rejected, and Bombay refused to allow the reintroduction of a system, of which it had already had sufficient experience, both moral, social, and sanitary.

The *Times of India* not only gave lengthy reports of the debate, but strongly opposed the reintroduction of the Acts, in a series of ably-written-leading articles.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT GENEVA.

In connection with these various movements throughout England and the Continent of Europe, there is about to be held in September, 1877, an International Congress, under the auspices of the British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution. This Congress will consist of five sections—(A.) Hygiene; (B.) Morality; (C.) Social Economy; (D.) Rescue and Preventive Work; (E.) Legislation. The bearings of our question, in all these aspects, will be considered at the Congress, which will take place from 17th to the 22nd of September inclusive. The Congress will be presided over by the Right Honourable James Stansfeld, M.P., assisted by five Presidents of the various Sections. It is the object of those who are organising this Congress to bring into one focus the greatest possible amount of information, statistics, facts, and experience bearing on the question, so that the Report of the Proceedings of this Congress, and of the Papers and Memoirs read there, will, it is hoped, form a mine of

information in the future, such as has not yet existed. Persons from all nations, including the United States of America, have undertaken to be present, and also delegations from a number of various societies and associations, whose work bears on this question.

APPENDIX.

DETAILED PROOFS OF THE SANITARY FAILURE OF SUCH LEGISLATION IN ENGLAND—WHAT THE C. D. ACTS HAVE DONE IN THE WAY OF SANITARY IMPROVEMENT—MEDICAL CAUSES FOR THEIR FAILURE—DANGEROUS PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES—PROOFS OF FAILURE IN FRANCE, BRUSSELS, AND AMSTERDAM—RESULTS IN MALTA—ENQUIRY INTO THE ALLEGED PREVALENCE AND SEVERITY OF SYPHILIS IN THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE—EXTREME MEASURES RECOMMENDED BY THE ADVOCATES OF SUCH LEGISLATION.

TABLES COMPILED FROM THE ARMY AND NAVY REPORTS AND CAPTAIN HARRIS'S REPORTS.

NOTE.—We have devoted the following extended space to the proofs of the failure of such legislation as a sanitary measure, not because we object to it as a sanitary failure and desire its abolition on that ground, but because the sanitary question is so important, and is so constantly put forward as the reason for such measures as Regulation or Licensing of Prostitution. We, therefore, desire to prove, not only to the public, but to members of the medical profession who may not have devoted their attention to a careful examination of the evidence on the whole question, that there is no necessity for such exceptional legislation for the sake of the public health, and that where it has been the longest in operation its failure has been the most fully proved. In the following pages it is sometimes said "six years after the Acts," when a comparison is made with an equal period before them; and sometimes "the eight years since the Acts," and at others "the nine years." This difference arises from the Army and Navy Reports not being published at the same time, so that in some cases only eight years experience can be given, and in others nine.

We have always contended that moral and physical law must be essentially in harmony, and that transgression of the one inevitably entails the consequences resulting from a breach of the other. We have proved in the foregoing pages that the principle of licensing or regulating prostitution is essentially an immoral one, and our contention is, that it must inevitably entail physical evil in the long run, even though there should be an appearance of physical benefit for a time, which it may be difficult to assign to its true causes among the infinite number of influences acting upon human life. In the present instance, how-

ever, the task is not so difficult, for the following pages will shew how directly physical gain followed upon moral agencies in the British Army and Navy—and how the gain was at once lessened with the introduction of an immoral agency, and has become continually smaller as the immoral principle has come more fully into operation. And when we pursue the enquiry still further, our illustrations from Parisian authorities will shew how the gain has not only been lessened but has absolutely stopped, and the result has been an increase of physical evil coincidently with the spread of the immoral principle—which no one attempts to deny, although some of those who are most sensible of the coincidence of the two fail to see the connection of cause and effect between them, and (uninstructed by the failure of the past) call for still further and further extension of the poisonous root which has produced such deadly fruit.

About the year 1860, or somewhat earlier, the attention of earnest minded men in the administration of the British Army and Navy was strongly directed to the unfavourable condition of the soldiers and sailors both physically and morally. Physically, in the condition of the barracks and ships, which were almost totally destitute of any means for securing decency of conduct or cleanliness of person; and morally, in the essential evils attaching to a celibate army and navy, and also the incidental but still almost constant evils of idleness, and the absence of any provision for either intellectual, industrial or moral occupation or improvement. For the purpose of reducing such evils as could not be absolutely removed, and remedying such as admitted of removal, numerous plans were brought into operation about this time in the hope of raising the moral and physical condition of the men in both services; of which plans the following were some, but by no means all. Shortening the period of service (by which the temptations arising from long continued celibacy were lessened), and offering inducements to the well conducted to re-enter the services under still more advantageous terms. Providing training schools in which advantage might be taken of youthful teachableness to raise future generations of candidates for the services, of a higher character and with better antecedents than their predecessors. Providing means of intellectual occupation and improvement in the form of libraries, reading-rooms, &c., and encouraging industrial pursuits among those who knew some trade or

handicraft, instead of discouraging all such occupations. Providing innocent and healthy games and amusements within the Barracks, instead of driving the men to low and profligate sources of interest outside them. Making arrangements for paying the sailors at sailors' homes, and other places apart from public-houses, and paying them in such a way as to lessen idle waiting as far as possible, and diminish the evil of men becoming suddenly possessed of large sums of money after long privation at sea, and assisting them to go quickly to their homes and families in the country, instead of spending their money riotously in port. Providing means for decency, privacy, and cleanliness, by lavatories and improved barrack and deck arrangements. And last (and, as many will think, by no means least) by a more careful selection of chaplains, schoolmasters, and teachers, whose earnestness might arouse a desire, and whose example might supply a pattern for a higher and more consistent course of life. Under the influence of these various agencies, disease of every kind, and in a marked degree venereal diseases, began to fall in both services in a rapid and continuous manner, as will be seen in the following tables. But it happened unhappily that soon after this extraordinary improvement commenced a principle was also introduced into the British legislation, and a system was brought into operation in various naval and military stations for the first time, which endeavoured to promote health among the men by reducing women to the position of merely animated instruments for gratifying male lust, and sought with this object in view to make them as clean and healthy an "article" as police and medical skill could accomplish. This system and the higher one first indicated, have now been working together for many years, and some progressive improvement in health has continued, the whole of which the advocates of the "regulation of women"-system do not cease to claim, as the result of this sensual system alone. The following tables and other notes in this Appendix shew, however, that the improvement has become less and less as the sensual system has been more and more widely extended, and we now leave them to the serious and candid consideration of our readers.

PROOFS OF THE SANITARY FAILURE OF THIS LEGISLATION IN ENGLAND.

We have placed in this Appendix the Proofs of Sanitary Failure of this Legislation, which are too detailed and too technical for the body of

the pamphlet; and at the outset we print two important declarations on the subject, made by persons who would not acknowledge failure if it could be avoided.

"There is no distinct evidence that any diminution of disease among the men of the Army and Navy, which may have taken place, is attributable to a diminution of disease contingent upon the system of periodical examination among the women with whom they have consorted"—Sec. 37; and "we recommend that the periodical examinations be discontinued."—Sec. 66 of the Report of the British Royal Commission.

"The administration has redoubled its activity, it has multiplied its acts of repression with regard to prostitutes, and it has definitely succeeded in maintaining, in a satisfactory condition, the sanitary state of Public REGISTERED Girls; and yet, SANITARY STATISTICS PROVE THAT PROSTITUTION (CLANDESTINE) IS INCREASING, AND THAT IT IS BECOMING MORE DANGEROUS TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH"—*Lecour: Le Prostitution a Paris et Londres*, 1st Ed., p. 254, 255. "The number of clandestines is legion, and has considerably increased, which is beyond dispute."—*Ibid*, 2nd Ed., p. 254.

The first of these important confessions is by the British Royal Commission, after examining 84 witnesses, embracing the principal officials under the Acts, and their most strenuous advocates and admirers; and the last is by the head of the department in France, where the system has been nearly 100 years in operation.

The following statements have been submitted for criticism to the British Admiralty, with the intimation, that if not contradicted they would be used in this pamphlet; and the figures relating to the Army have also been submitted to the War Office and the Home Secretary, and no contradiction has been made of their correctness; but there is a difference of opinion as to the inferences to be drawn from the following statistics of SECONDARY SYPHILIS which are acknowledged on both sides.

The difference between Inspector-General Lawson and Dr. Nevins relates only to the inferences to be drawn from them:—

ANNUAL RATIO OF SECONDARY SYPHILIS IN THE BRITISH HOME ARMY.

Year	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.†
Ratio of Secondary Syphilis per 1000 men	32.68	34.63	35.9	35.0	29.6	24.73	25.1	31.6	26.2	25.4	20.3	24.26	23.7

† The ratio for 1873 is not taken into account, because during that year a new Army Order was issued, stopping the pay of soldiers in hospital from venereal diseases, which the Army Report for 1873 says led to concealment of disease by the men.

Thus it will be seen, that for some years previous to 1866 (the date of the Act) secondary disease was falling without the aid of legislation, and that it had fallen between 1861 and 1866 from 32.68 per 1,000 to 24.73 per 1,000 men, or above one-fifth. It is contended by Dr. Nevins that in estimating the influence of the C. D. Acts upon disease, it is necessary to start from its amount in 1866, the time when the Act was passed, and on doing so we see that the previous fall was arrested in 1866, and disease rose in amount after the passing of the Acts. After fluctuating, sometimes above, and sometimes below the amount of disease in 1866, the average of the whole period since the Act has been in operation has been one-sixteenth higher than it was when the Act was passed, which shows that it has done harm rather than good. Mr. Lawson, on the other hand, says that we ought not to begin the comparison with the amount when the Act was passed, but some years previously; and, disregarding the fact that disease had fallen so much without legislation, see whether the average of 5 years before the Act was higher or lower than 5 years after it—and as the average of the second period is lower than the average of the first, he contends that the Acts must get the credit of the difference. Our readers must judge for themselves which interpretation is the one to be adopted.

RESULT OF THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS UPON THE HEALTH OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

Secondary Syphilis fell one-fourth of its amount in 5 years *before* the Acts (from 32.6 per 1000 in 1861, to 24.7 per 1000 in 1866). *Its fall stopped* on the passing of the Acts, and it has been one-sixteenth *higher* on the average of the six years *since* the Acts.

Primary Syphilis fell at the rate of 6 per cent. yearly for 6 years *before* the Acts. Its fall has been checked since the Acts, and it has only been 4.6 per cent. yearly on the remaining amount of disease.

The ratio of Primary Venereal Sores, in the whole British Army at home, was 143 per 1000 men in 1860, when there were no Acts in existence. It fell, gradually, to 91 per 1000 men in 1866, at the end of which year periodical examinations first commenced. In six years, therefore, Primary Sores fell from 143 to 91—*i.e.* 52, or 8.67 per annum.

Ratio.	Annual Fall.	Yearly Fall per Cent.
Therefore, as 143	: 8.67	: : 100 : 6.0

The fall continued, and during the next six years, under the periodical examinations, the ratio fell from 91 to 66 per 1000, or 25 in 6 years—*i.e.* 4.17 yearly. But as the ratio was less to begin with in this second period (*viz.* 91 instead of 143), the fall would naturally be less also, and, therefore, in order to make the comparison a fair one, this fall like the first must be made into a per centage.

Ratio.	Annual Fall.	Yearly Fall per Cent.
Therefore, as 91	: 4.17	: : 100 : 4.6

It is evident, therefore, that the improvement was much less rapid under the Acts, (*viz.* : 4.6 per cent. yearly) than it was before the Acts, (*viz.* : 6 percent. yearly.)

Gonorrhœa has been higher in the stations under the Acts than in those not under them, by the confession of every Army Report published by the government.

IN THE BRITISH NAVY AT HOME.

Secondary Syphilis—The Navy Reports give no returns of its amount previous to the Act of 1866. Since that date it has not fallen at the rate of one case in seven thousand men yearly, and as the average strength of the Home Navy is about 21,000 men, it amounts to an improvement of 3 men yearly in the whole British Home Navy.

Primary and Secondary Syphilis are combined in the Navy Reports, and the combined diseases fell at the rate of 6·3 per cent. yearly before the Acts. Since that date they have only fallen at the rate of 3·8 per cent. yearly.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SYPHILIS COMBINED.—RATIO PER 1,000 MEN.

Date of Act.

Date of Act.	'62.	'63.	'64.	'65.	'66.	'67.	'68.	'69.	'70.	'71.	'72.	'73.	'74.	'75.
1861.	'62.	'63.	'64.	'65.	'66.	'67.	'68.	'69.	'70.	'71.	'72.	'73.	'74.	'75.
100·4	108·6	104·2	96·6	97·1	69·1	59	53	54·9	52·2	51	62·1	54·8	48·6	45·8

The combined diseases therefore fell from 100·4 to 69·1, or 31·3 in five years before the Acts, i.e. 6·3 yearly, and from 69·1 to 45·8, or 23·3 in 9 years after the Act, i.e. 2·6 yearly. But as the amount of disease was less to begin with in the second period, the fall would naturally be less also, and for the purpose of fair comparison, they must be brought to the same standard of per centage. Then—

Ratio in 1st Period.	Yearly Fall.	Yearly Fall per Cent. in 1st Period.
As 100·4	: 6·3	: : 100 : 6·3
Ratio in 2nd Period.	Yearly Fall.	Yearly Fall per Cent. in 2nd Period.
And as 69·1	: 2·6	: : 100 : 3·8

Primary Venereal Sores are not recorded separately in the Navy Reports previous to the Acts, and therefore the fall since the Acts cannot be compared with that previously.

Gonorrhœa fell two-fifths of its amount in 5 years before the Acts (from 34·8 per 1,000 in 1862 to 20·4 per 1,000 in 1866). It has much more than doubled in amount since the Act.

1862.	'63.	'64.	'65.	'66.	'67.	'68.	'69.	'70.	'71.	'72.	'73.	'74.	'75.
34·8.	32·4	25·7	30·3	20·4	22·2	32·4	38·7	48·9	50·3	64·6	51·1	53·4	52·5

IN THE BRITISH NAVY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (IN WHICH MALTA, GIBRALTAR, THE PIRÆUS, AND MANY OTHER NAVAL STATIONS ARE UNDER THE C. D. ACTS.)

Secondary Syphilis has risen 22 per cent. since the Act of 1866.

Primary Syphilis has nearly *trebled* since 1866. It has risen gradually from 24 per 1000 in 1866, to 63 per 1000 in 1875.

Gonorrhœa has *trebled* since 1866. It has gradually risen from 15 per 1000 in 1866, to 50·6 per 1000 in 1875.

LOSS OF SERVICE FROM VENEREAL DISEASES IN THE BRITISH ARMY AND NAVY.

ARMY.

Owing to changes in the mode of classifying these diseases, and other circumstances connected with the Army Reports, this can only be approximately stated for the Army, but the number of soldiers in hospital from syphilis and its consequences fell 1·04 per 1,000 yearly from 1861 to 1866, *before* the Acts, throughout the *whole Army*. It has only fallen, *since* the Acts, at the rate of 0·13 per 1,000 yearly, even in the *protected* stations, or just one-eighth of its fall before the Acts.

NAVY.

The number of sailors in hospital from venereal diseases *fell* 8 per cent. yearly for *three* years in the British Navy at *home before* the Acts. It has only fallen 1½ per cent. yearly during the *nine* years *since* the Acts.

In the British Navy in the *Mediterranean* the number of sailors in hospital *increased* nearly 5 per cent. yearly *before* the Acts. It has increased above 10 per cent. yearly *since* the Acts.

LOSS OF TIME FROM VENEREAL DISEASES IN THE NAVY.

The number of days during which the men were in hospital, in the *British Home Navy*, from Venereal Diseases of all kinds, *fell* from a proportion of 12·7 in 1863, before there was any Act, to 9·6 in 1866, or 24 per cent. in *three* years before the Acts; while they only fell from 9·6 in 1866 to 8·4 in 1875, or 12 per cent. in *nine* years after the Act. The improvement equalled 8 per cent. yearly before the Act, and only 1½ yearly since the Act was in force.

In the Mediterranean Station the number of days the men were in hospital, from Venereal Diseases, was *increasing* at the rate of 4·7 per cent. yearly before the Act, but it has increased at more than double that rate since, viz : 10·6 per cent. yearly.

COMPARISON BETWEEN STATIONS UNDER THE ACTS AND THOSE NOT UNDER THEM.

Hong Kong has been longer under the system than any other British station. The amount of venereal diseases is *higher in the Navy stationed there than in any other station in the world.*

Australia has never been under the system, and in the *Cape of Good Hope* and the *East India stations*, the Acts which were at one time in force, have been repealed. *There are no stations in the world where there is so little venereal disease in the Navy as in these.*

The Home and the Mediterranean Stations are worse than the average of all the Stations in the British Navy.

INCREASE OF DISEASE AND DEATH AMONG REGISTERED PROSTITUTES.

The annual *death-rate* has risen from 9·8 per 1,000 the year before the Acts were put in force, to 10·4, 16·7, 16·8, 20·6, 21·8, and 23·0 per 1,000—the Government Return for 1874. It has *much more than doubled* in 9 years under these Acts, but dropped suddenly to 15 per 1000 in 1875, and 10·5 per 1,000 in 1876.*

The *ratio of sickness* rose from 122 per cent,* in 1866, to 202 in 1868, and since then has fallen gradually to 129, which is still higher by 7 than it was before the Acts were in force. *The average of the whole period has been higher by 30 per cent. than it was when the Acts were passed.*

* Every woman was diseased on an average above once a year when the Act was first put in force in 1866, and above twice a year in 1868.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT THAT THE ACTS HAVE NOT REDUCED DISEASE.

The Royal Commission reported in 1871, as we have already stated:—
 “THERE IS NO DISTINCT EVIDENCE THAT ANY DIMINUTION OF DISEASE AMONG THE MEN OF THE ARMY AND NAVY WHICH MAY HAVE TAKEN PLACE IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO A DIMINUTION OF DISEASE CONTINGENT UPON THE SYSTEM OF PERIODICAL EXAMINATION AMONG THE WOMEN WITH WHOM THEY HAVE CONSORTED,” and further experience since that Report was issued has confirmed the above acknowledgment of failure of the Acts as sanitary measures, as is shewn above. The Royal Commission added “WE RECOMMEND THAT THE PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS OF THE WOMEN BE DISCONTINUED.”—*Report, Sec. 66.* (These periodical examinations are the

*See Appendix, Page 97.

essential principle of the C. D. Acts, without which their advocates are unanimous in saying they would be worthless. It is therefore the essence of the Acts that the Commission condemns.)

The Royal Commission added, that there was a general *impression* among Army and Navy medical officers that the Acts had been useful, although there was no distinct proof of their benefits. The probable explanation of this "*impression*" is, that there has been a reduction generally in primary venereal diseases, in both the Army and the Navy at Home, and this improvement has apparently been attributed by the medical officers who have seen it, to the influence of the Acts, without their being aware that a much more rapid improvement was taking place in primary disease before the Acts were in force, and that greater improvement has taken place in gonorrhœa in the stations not under the Acts, than in those which were under them. Inspector-General Lawson, who has the official duty of preparing for the government the statistics for the Army Reports, has also indicated another explanation. Various medical officers have written strongly to the medical journals, and also sent reports to the government, shewing how much less disease there had been among the few hundred men in their regiment the half year or year they have been in a station under the Acts than in some other regiment which has been in a station not under them; but they have confined their observations to a few hundred men only, and to a very short period of time—seldom amounting to twelve months. Inspector-General Lawson has pointed out the absolute necessity of taking thousands instead of hundreds of men, and years instead of months for comparison; for in inspecting several regiments at Aldershot, *he has found four times as much disease in one as in another regiment, though the examinations were made at the same time, and the regiments were stationed in adjoining barracks*, all equally under the Acts. The amount of disease is often two or three times as much in one half-year as in another in the same ship or regiment, even while stationed in the same place. Another explanation is given by the Royal Commission itself, viz., that in one or two cases a great reduction of disease was laid before the Commission as a proof of the beneficial operation of the Acts, but it proved on enquiry that the Acts were not in force in the places mentioned until after the improvement had occurred, which had thus by mistake been attributed to them. In short, medical officers having charge of only a small number

of men, and generally remaining for only a short period of time in the same place, and having a natural impression that such Acts would be beneficial, have attributed to them any improvement that has occurred, without being aware of what was the general result in the Army and Navy at large when examined for a number of years in succession. Many advocates of the Acts have put forward improvements among small bodies of men for short periods of time, but no advocate has as yet attempted to prove that the above Report of the Royal Commission was mistaken, or to shew that in either the Army or the Navy, as a whole, there was any evidence of improved health since the Acts, to be compared with the improvement that was taking place before the Acts were passed.

But, as it may be said that a large portion of the British Army is not under the Acts, and that it is in that portion which is subjected to them that we should look for improvement, we now turn to the Army Report for 1874, which gives the following information on this aspect of the question, the statistics already given in pages 71 and 73 relating to the entire Army and Navy, and not to that portion only which is in the subjected districts:—

SANITARY RESULTS OF THE C.D. ACTS IN THE "SUBJECTED" DISTRICTS.

Gonorrhoea, as above shewn, has been higher in the subjected than the unsubjected districts.

Secondary Syphilis.—The Army Returns contain no information as to the frequency of this form of disease in the subjected as compared with the unsubjected stations of the Army, so that it is impossible to shew whether it is higher or lower in the subjected than in the unsubjected stations.

Primary Syphilis fell in the stations which were eventually placed under the Acts from 140 per 1,000 men in 1860, to 107 per 1,000 men in 1863, or 9 per cent. per annum for 3 years before there was any Act whatever. The Acts were gradually put in force in one station after another, and it was not until the end of 1869 that all the stations were under their operation. During this period of 6 years, primary disease fell from 107 to 66 per 1,000, i.e. 6.8 per annum, which amounts to 6.4 per cent. yearly during the period of gradual
ion. Primary syphilis has only fallen in 3 years since that

time, from 66 per 1,000 to 54 per 1,000 men in 1872,* or 4 yearly† —i.e. 6 per cent. per annum, while the Acts have been in the fullest operation, instead of 9 per cent. per annum when there were no Acts at all. The more completely the Acts have been put in force, the smaller has the improvement been.

WHAT THE ACTS HAVE DONE IN THE WAY OF SANITARY IMPROVEMENT.

In several places now under the Acts, viz. Canterbury, Colchester, the Curragh, Dover, Maidstone, and Winchester, there were no hospitals previous to the Acts to which diseased prostitutes could go for treatment, for there was either no hospital at all, or else venereal cases were not admitted. In the County Hospital in Winchester venereal cases were at one time admitted, and these diseases diminished largely; but influenced by motives which we cannot but think mistaken ones, the directors closed the hospital against such patients, and the result was a large increase of disease in Winchester, which is a garrison town. Since the Act of 1866 hospital accommodation has been provided, and disease has again fallen. In the neighbourhood of the Curragh Camp, in Ireland, there was no hospital whatever for these victims of disease, and it was fearfully rife among the prostitutes. Hospital accommodation has now been provided, and disease has fallen greatly. The same may be said in various degrees about the other stations named above. Where there was no hospital

* At this period the Army authorities were so dissatisfied with the sanitary results of the Acts, and the large amount of Venereal Disease still remaining, that in 1873 they issued a new Army Warrant, stopping the pay and otherwise punishing soldiers who were in hospital from Venereal Diseases. This at once led to concealment of disease, which is acknowledged in the Army Report for 1873, and invalidates all the official statistics of the amount of disease after the issue of the warrant.

† It is often objected that the reduced rate of improvement is no proof that the Acts have failed, for it is said that if you begin with 100 cases of disease, and reduce them by any means to 50, it would be absurd to expect as large a yearly reduction with the smaller as with the larger amount of disease, and that a yearly improvement of 5 in the latter case, would be equal to an improvement of 10 at first. This objection is perfectly correct, and, therefore, all the comparisons in this paper have been made in per centages. The higher amounts of disease have been reduced to 100, and the lower ones raised to that number, so as to obviate the fallacy which would otherwise exist. In the very last instance given in this page, the actual reduction was only 4 yearly, but this was really equal to 6 per cent., and is so reckoned.

accommodation previous to the Acts, there has been a great improvement since such means of cure have been provided; but where there was hospital accommodation, the improvement was much more rapid before the Acts than it has been since. This teaches a forcible and most important lesson upon the necessity for admitting such cases into hospitals without allowing the nature or origin of the disease to interfere with the extension of healing charity, but it furnishes no excuse for driving the unfortunate women into them under penalty of three months' imprisonment with hard labour, as is provided by the English Acts, or for saying, as these Acts practically do, "you shall not be admitted to one of these hospitals, supported by the national purse, no matter how diseased you may be, unless you first become a notoriously vicious woman, and are enrolled upon the police register of 'common prostitutes.'"

FAILURE OF THE LEGISLATION IN PARIS.

The failure of such Acts in preventing or lessening these diseases in Paris is acknowledged in most explicit terms by M. Lecour, the head of this department in France "The administration has redoubled its activity, it has multiplied its Acts of repression with regard to prostitutes, and it has definitely succeeded in maintaining in a satisfactory condition the sanitary state of public registered girls, and yet *sanitary statistics prove that prostitution is increasing, and that it is becoming more dangerous to the public health.*"—*Lecour le Prostitution à Paris et Londres*, 1st Ed. p. 254-255.

The Paris Correspondent of the *London Medical Times and Gazette*, dated June 2nd, 1873, says:—"The treatment of syphilis is just now on the tapis in Paris. The doctors see syphilis everywhere, and I have heard physicians say, 'when in doubt give mercury, and in general you will have hit on the right remedy, as in nineteen cases out of twenty the patient is syphilitic, either by direct infection or by heredity.'" Dr. Armand Després, for thirty years surgeon to the Lourcine, the great hospital with upwards of 300 beds devoted solely to the treatment of venereal diseases in women in Paris, has lately published an important work entitled *Traité Théorique et Pratique sur la Syphilis*:—"There are," he says, "some police laws designed to regulate debauchery; thus the liberty of some women has been destroyed in order to give security to debauched men, but the result has not answered expectation, for the women examined are not those who most communicate disease." "It is little decent for the practitioner to place himself like a sentinel between the debauchee and the prostitute." "Besides, the means are almost always illusory, and it would be more dignified for the physician to keep himself out of the way."

M. Leon Lefort, of the Paris faculty, and physician to the du Midi venereal hospital for men, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, says that what with infection derived from *inspected and certified* women, and what with clandestine prostitution, "THE MEANS EMPLOYED AGAINST SYPHILIS IN PARIS AMOUNT TO NOTHING."—*Medical Times and Gazette*, Jan. 8th, 1870.

"The inspections do not suffice. As it is, syphilis is increasing in Paris; not only because of the increase of clandestine prostitution, but also *because the examinations of the 'filles publiques,' the registered and periodically examined women, do not answer their end.*"—(*Medical Times*, Sept. 25th, 1869.)

Dr. Alfred Fournier, a great authority on this matter, who has succeeded M. Ricord as surgeon to the Hôpital du Midi, the venereal hospital for males in Paris, has written a thesis on syphilitic contagion, and in conjunction with M. Puche, carefully traced the disease to its source* in 873 cases. The result is contained in the accompanying table, which may be found in Lancereaux's work on syphilis, vol. ii.:

Males infected by public prostitutes	625
" " clandestine prostitutes.....	46
" " kept women, actresses, &c.	52
" " workwomen	100
" " servant women.....	26
" " married women.....	24

873

Thus, out of 873 cases coming promiscuously under the care of these gentlemen, 625 contracted syphilis under the temptation of a false security, from women warranted clean by the government inspectors.

Professor Andrews, Professor of Surgery, Chicago Med. Coll., America, remarks upon this point:—"As a professional man, I have been compelled to laugh at the frequent instances where young Americans have, with infinite gullibility, cohabited with loose women in Paris, because they supposed it safe, but were utterly astounded afterwards to find they had contracted syphilis or gonorrhœa. There is a mischievous error abroad as to what medical men can accomplish even on those who are under control. The general supposition is, that when a physician has examined a woman and found no disease visible, she is entirely safe for her paramours. This is a fatal blunder, as many a man has found to his cost."

Dr. Vintras, in his evidence before the Venereal Commission, says, in confirmation of the above facts: "You will find almost all chancres (the local sores that produce true syphilis) are, in Paris, derived from women who make prostitution their sole business"—who are registered and subject to periodical examinations.

The examinations give a false security, especially to married men, and thus constitute a real danger for the innocent wives and children they are so falsely supposed to protect. Mr. Acton tells of men who have travelled hundreds of miles, lured by a false security, to visit French brothels in London, where periodical examinations are carried out, and have immediately contracted venereal disease. "I am acquainted with commercial men (married) who have told me that they have

"Without fear of being taxed with exaggeration," says M. Lecour, we may consider this number as representing the fifth of the number of venereal patients who are treated at home by physicians, or who apply to druggists or empirics. We thus reach, as a total number, 47,500—a formidable number, although it is probably below the truth."

The medical profession in America has probably had too much experience of disease contracted by Americans, when under the delusive belief of safety in subjected places like Paris, to challenge any of the above statements as to the failure of this legislation in the prevention of venereal disease, in that city at any rate.

AMSTERDAM.

Dr. Huet, first physician to the hospital in Amsterdam, published a paper in 1868, on the effects of governmental superintendence of prostitution upon venereal in the army in Holland. He got his information from the War Ministry, and gives a quantity of tables, but the most conclusive is that where he exhibits twenty-four cities and gives the number of venereal cases during some years before and some years after the introduction of laws on prostitution. In some cities there is an amelioration, but the total number is—before the introduction of ordinances 1,786 cases amongst 15,913 soldiers yearly; after the introduction, 2,241 cases in 16,810 : i.e. 11·2 per cent. before, and 13·3 per cent. after the introduction of ordinances.

BRUSSELS.

Dr. Thierry, of Brussels—(*Press Medical Belge*. Nos. 37 and 38. 1874),—remarks, "Every day you see numerous cases of syphilis in my wards; they are always severe, and often present difficulties of diagnosis."

Indeed all trustworthy evidence goes to show conclusively that we get worse than nothing for the sacrifices which this kind of legislation calls upon us to make. "Whatever renders vice apparently safe, and increases its prevalence, must increase disease."

We might multiply evidence, but the foregoing is sufficient; and we will now, as briefly as possible, shew on medical grounds :—

MALTA.

The success of this legislation in "stamping out" venereal disease in Malta is so continually appealed to that it is desirable to allude to it, and remark that it is probable such a system of inspection of prostitutes may be successful in diminishing these diseases in a *small island, far from any other land*, occupied chiefly, if not almost exclusively by soldiers, or persons dependent on them, and under the control of the military authorities in a most exceptional degree; but that any results obtained in such an exceptional place are no criterion whatever as to the results to be looked for in a place where the population is mixed, and the intercourse with adjoining districts is free, such as occurs in all large countries and in every civil population. It is not disputed that the average amount of venereal disease is lower in Malta than in the average of places of which we have official statistics, but the amount even here rises

and falls so largely, as to shew the powerlessness of all police regulations to prevent the influx of diseases dependant upon the will of man or the ingenuity of woman for their spread. A few illustrations from the Army and Navy Reports, relating to Malta, will suffice for the purpose :—

1859.—Increase of venereal diseases 50 per 1000 over 1858, attributed to the laxity of the police. Police vigilance resumed, but results no better in 1860.

1862.—Extraordinary improvement, attributed to a new police regulation. (New brooms sweep clean.)

1864.—Increase upon 1863, attributed to a number of women who followed the troops from the Ionian Islands.

1865.—“Very satisfactory exemption from venereal affections at Malta, *though it must be admitted that the disease-giving sore in the female is often too small to be detected on examination.*”

1866.—“Venereal disease does exist and circulate to some extent.” Attributed to the officers’ mistresses.

1868 69–70.—Disease very low.

1871.—“Increase of syphilis (42·6 per 1000), and considerable increase of gonorrhœa.” No explanation given.

1872.—“Syphilis greatly more prevalent than in 1871, and the ratio of admissions exceeded threefold the average for the three years, from 1869 to 1871.” No explanation given.

1873.—Considerably above the average. Attributed to “women nominally the wives of soldiers.”

1874.—Reduced ratio.

1875.—Amount more than twice as high as last year. No explanation offered. 39 per 1000—which is higher than the ratio of half the Stations in England not under the Acts at all.

If such are the results even in Malta, so exceptionally circumstanced for the success of such legislation, they can scarcely be considered absolutely convincing even there.

WHY THE PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS HAVE PROVED SUCH A FAILURE.

The evidences of Gonorrhœa are easily removed for a time by syringing, &c., before going up for examination. Superficial sores are evident at a glance, and there is frequently a reduction of these sores as a result of examinations; but the infecting syphilitic sore, capable of producing constitutional results, and of becoming hereditary, cannot be discerned by examination in a large proportion of cases, and disease of the most serious character can be communicated from one person to another following him, the woman herself not suffering, and being merely the agent for communicating it.*

“The cunning of public women in deceiving the investigations of the medical man is very great. They possess the secret of certain processes, which secret is traditionally transmitted, by which they hide discharges, conceal ulcers, and simulate cures.”—Dr. Drysdale, *Medical Press*, May 27th, 1874.

No fact is better known or established among those who have devoted themselves to this branch of science, than that true syphilis in the female is so difficult of detection that the examinations must necessarily in a large number of cases be useless for the end proposed. To quote Mr Acton, "Notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary, the best managed regulations cannot guarantee freedom from disease." The editor of the *Medical Times and Gazette* says: "Putting aside all moral considerations, no woman should have a clean bill of health. Why? Because it is so frequently impossible to say, by any mode of examination that may be advised, whether a woman is in a contagious condition or not." The same authority, after remarking that "a surgeon might easily be led to discharge a woman quite capable of propagating disease under the impression that she was cured," says: "Still more might be passed without having anything noticeable beyond a slight uterine discharge, almost, if not perfectly, undistinguishable from a healthy one, and these may infect their paramours."

Mr. Berkeley Hill, M. De Meric, and other authorities, affirm, that these uterine and vaginal catarrhs are very common, and every medical practitioner is aware that it is impossible to distinguish gonorrhoea from the affection which is known as leucorrhoea, or the whites, to which many respectable women are subject. The principal supporters of the Contagious Diseases Acts are well aware of these facts, and do not attempt to deny them; they affirm, however, that as this condition communicates gonorrhoea only, its detection is of little consequence. The assertion, however, is not correct. Mr. Morgan, of Dublin, surgeon to Mercer's hospital and to the Westmoreland lock hospital, has proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, by inoculating the disease from one patient to another, that these discharges communicate syphilis, and that this disease is probably more frequently thus communicated than in any other way. His work abounds in proof "of the inoculative property of the vaginal discharges of already infected women, who may to all appearance be free from local affections, or severe skin manifestations." (Morgan on Contagious Diseases, p. 26.) And, as he remarks in his preface, he has shown "that disease (true syphilis) can be produced from the contact of a vaginal secretion, unconnected with any local sore whatever." Authorities are now generally agreed on this point, and Mr. Henry Lee, than whom no higher can be quoted, remarks in the *British Medical Journal*, March 24th, 1874: "Secretions from a syphilitic person, unaccompanied by any breach of surface, are contagious, so as to produce constitutional syphilis."

Surgeon-Major Oliver, in the *British Medical Journal*, June 13th, 1874, remarks:—"Soldiers' women have usually fallen to the lowest order, and have been saturated with the syphilitic taint, the local evidences of which have long disappeared. They are, nevertheless, capable of giving a sore or sores;" and Surgeon-Major Porter, Assistant-Professor of Military Surgery, Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, remarks, in the *British Medical Journal* of July 25th, 1874:—"With regard to Mr. Morgan's theory, 'that the vast majority of primary sores are not derived from sores, but from the inoculated discharges of constitutionally affected women,' I may state that, when serving in Saugor, Central India, in 1865, the admissions into hospital in my regiment from venereal sores were numerous, and caused me much anxiety. At my suggestion, I was permitted to take into custody, for medical observation, the

prostitutes (natives of the lower type) frequenting the neighborhood of the barracks and cantonments, and I carefully examined them with a speculum. These unfortunate women, it was well known, were the source of the disease among the troops; but I was surprised to find that nearly all suffered from a purulent vaginal discharge, and not from true syphilis, a sore being but seldom met with."

"If the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes should increase among us, *whilest as is perfectly certain to be the case*, it is only partially freed from physical risk, it is quite possible that there may be no gain as regards the sum total of syphilitic misery."—*British Medical Journal*, June 18th, 1870.

Mr. Berkeley Hill says: "There is great difficulty in detecting disease, if it is the interest of the prostitute to conceal it, and that some disease must always escape detection." This is unquestioned; but, unfortunately, the disease that escapes detection is the principal disease of consequence. Here is the fact proved beyond the possibility of cavil, that gonorrhœa, true syphilis, and sores, every form of venereal affection, may be and is constantly communicated by women, who, on examination, present no evidence of disease, or merely a slight secretion, and the fact remains, that syphilis is communicated even when there is no breach of surface or sore in the female; and even when a sore exists it is most difficult of detection. Dr. Aitken, who is known as one of the most eminent of practical physicians, says in his work on the *Science of Medicine*, fifth edition: "Medical inspections are formal and look useful, but the *infecting sore*, the *true syphilitic one*, can rarely be detected in the female." In another part of this work he observes: "The syphilitic sore, when it does occur in women, is readily overlooked, even when searched for with great care, aided by a vaginal examination with the speculum." Mr. Simon, who is acknowledged to be one of the first pathologists in Europe, says: "The various local states which *most habitually* spread the infection of true syphilis are *often* overlooked in examinations *made expressly* for their discovery."

Mr. Evans, who wrote an excellent work on venereal sores, remarks: "An altered secretion that cannot be detected is sufficient for the production of disease;" adding that when he attended the examinations of 200 women of the lowest description, who were frequented by the soldiers belonging to the army of occupation at Valenciennes, no diseases could be detected in the women, *and yet the hospitals were filled with diseased soldiers infected by these very women*. He noticed exactly the same thing in Lille, and observes that *the condition that communicates disease, in the female, is ly to be known by its effects*; and says it is thus "THAT GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS FOR PREVENTING THE PROPAGATION OF VENEREAL DISEASES SO COMPLETELY FAIL IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THEIR OBJECT."

Mr. Key, late President of the College of Surgeons, England, in a letter written to Dr. McCoughlin, on May 19th, 1864, referring to these facts, says: "I am convinced, in common with many surgeons, that disease is not necessary to the same form of disease in the other sex, and that every variety of sore, and every form of purulent discharge, from the slightest to the *severest in intensity*, can be obtained from women who have not, in their own persons, indications of disease of any kind."

Sir Henry Storks, says, that at Malta it frequently happened that women, denounced by soldiers as having infected them, were, on examination, found to be perfectly

healthy, i.e. no disease could be detected. The police agents employed under the Contagious Diseases Acts, at various stations in this country, assure us also, in their evidence before the Parliamentary Committees, that infected soldiers constantly denounced women as having diseased them, who on examination appeared quite healthy. Sir W. Lawrence states that he has examined women who had infected private patients of his (suffering from unequivocal syphilis), and has frequently been unable to trace any disease in the females from whom the sores had been contracted. In fact, the local manifestation of true syphilis so frequently escapes notice, that Clerc, one of the greatest authorities, failed to find it after most careful search in a considerable proportion of women who had recently contracted the disease. Mr. Busk states, that some of the worst cases treated on board the *Dreadnought* hospital ship were contracted from women who, on examination, appeared to have little or nothing the matter with them. Mr. Langston Parker, of Birmingham, a great authority on these matters, says that syphilis is certainly communicated when it is impossible to detect any sores whatever; and the late Mr. Hey, of Leeds, calls attention to the same fact. M. de Meric says, in reference to this difficult point, that if all the uterine catarrhs are to be sequestered, it would be necessary to send to hospital nearly all the women, and yet "they may infect their paramours"

The late Mr. Holmes Coote says: "The peculiar nature of the examining surgeons' employment is not the most ennobling, and must bring him into associations he would rather avoid. But it should be asked, are his duties of such a nature that he can faithfully discharge them? Can any man, *however experienced*, undertake to pronounce, after the most careful examination, that a public woman is sound? We fear not; and if his certificate is not trustworthy, and yet carries authority, to what unpleasant complications and unjust inferences may it not give rise?"

Mr. Berkeley Hill states, that "great difficulty exists in deciding whether a particular discharge is likely to communicate disease." Again, "a patient is often very anxious to know if a discharge is contagious—a question *most difficult to answer*. It may be mere mucus, and quite healthy in appearance, and yet retain its infectious qualities very strongly." The Editor of the *Medical Times and Gazette*, in a recent article, says, that "the proof of infection by syphilis of a given person is *so slight*, that it will evade all ordinary organization."

We shall conclude this Section with shewing some practical consequences of these difficulties in diagnosis, which we commend to the careful consideration of our readers:—

DANGEROUS PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES.

If one hundred respectable women were simply to be subjected to the examining surgeon, he would be certain to pronounce a number of them diseased; and *vice versa*, if one hundred prostitutes, in a contagious condition, were similarly examined, a number would certainly be passed as sound. This is no fancy picture, but it has occurred in this country. It was proved by the evidence given before the Royal Commission, by Mr. Sedley Wolfenstan, late resident surgeon to the Royal Albert

Hospital, Devonport, that AT LEAST SIX HUNDRED WOMEN had been sent to that hospital and imprisoned as diseased, who had no disease whatever during his stay in the hospital.

This is the evidence of the four honorary surgeons to the Royal Albert Hospital, Messrs. Row, Laity, Bulteel, and Swain, who have published a letter to which their names are appended, addressed to the Lords of the Admiralty, and published by Messrs. Churchill, Burlington Street. "A very large proportion of the cases of gonorrhoea sent in for treatment, are of a very trivial character, and in many of the cases we have been able to *discover no trace whatever of contagious disease.*" "The unanimous opinion of the four medical officers was, that many cases sent in were not affected on admission with any contagious disease."

"Cases of contagious *syphilitic* disease are from time to time admitted into the Lock wards, which from their very nature must have *existed for a considerable time*, and consequently escaped detection for that period." Here we have what happens whenever such Acts are enforced. Clandestine prostitution triumphant; syphilis escaping observation; and baffled authority injuring innocent women.

Mr. Woolcombe, chairman of the Albert Hospital and a determined supporter of these Acts, replied to this, that the examining surgeons had agreed to send in certain cases, "irrespective of theory." It is clear from this, that they had agreed to incarcerate cases of leucorrhoea or the whites, a non-venereal affection to which most women are subject; but it seems that the examining surgeon sent in women who were not even suffering from this common and very innocuous affection, for the four honorary surgeons rejoin—"We have simply to repeat that *numerous cases* have been sent to hospital from time to time, in which none of such symptoms as are referred to above by Mr. Woolcombe, *nor any other symptom of contagious disease*, have been found present on admission to hospital. Some of them have been kept purposely a few days without treatment, and still found, after *repeated examinations, perfectly free from disease*; these facts have been communicated from time to time to the examining surgeon, and some of the cases he has been called in to examine for himself." The result of this evidence against the operation of the Acts was, that the four honorary surgeons who objected to keep healthy women prisoners, were dismissed, in order that a paid surgeon, under the control of the Admiralty, might be appointed in their stead; while the examining surgeon who sent them in was promoted to the post of Inspector of Hospitals under the Acts!

"But," say the promoters of the Contagious Diseases Acts, "it is granted that there are difficulties of diagnosis, but we can detect the worst cases." This is a grave error. The worst cases in appearance are often comparatively unimportant in a sanitary point of view. The large sores, and profuse discharges, which a man must be blind not to detect, occur in persons who are only too eager voluntary patients, and they communicate commonly gonorrhoea and soft sores—purely local affections; while the poison of true syphilis is so insidious, and lurks where it is so difficult to detect, that it is the most liable of all to escape detection, and the result is shewn in the gradual reduction of simple primary sores, but the increase rather than the reduction of secondary disease in the British Army and Navy, as shewn in the foregoing tables of this Appendix.

ENQUIRY INTO THE PREVALENCE AND SEVERITY OF SYPHILIS IN THE COMMUNITY
AT LARGE.

Lancereaux, "one of the most modern and highest authorities," says: "In the majority of cases, the general eruption once over, syphilis ceases as if it had completed its entire orbit." . . . "In these cases (far from being rare) syphilis is but an abortive disease, slight and benignant; it does not leave behind any troublesome trace of its passage." . . . "It is impossible to lay *too much stress* upon this point at the present day, when syphilis inspires *exaggerated* fears; it cannot be too widely known that this disease becomes dissipated completely in a great number of cases after the cessation of the cutaneous eruption, and sometimes even with the primary lesion." . . . "An infected father does not necessarily transmit the disease from which he is suffering. More than this, we see children born and grow up quite healthy, both of whose parents are, or have been, syphilitic." (See *Treatise on Syphilis, Historical and Practical*, by Dr. E. Lancereaux.)

The Editor of the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* for January, 1870, says: "Syphilis is not a disease which is fatal to adults in its primary or secondary manifestations, and the majority of those who have undergone the disease live as long as they could otherwise have expected to live, and die of diseases with which syphilis has no more to do than the man in the moon. They are active, useful, and wealth-producing members of society so long as they continue in it."

Mr. Syme, of Edinburgh, in the last edition of his *Standard Work on Surgery*, remarks: "It is now fully ascertained that the poison of the present day (true syphilis) does not give rise to the dreadful consequences which have been mentioned. The case may be tedious, but none of the serious effects *that used to be so much dreaded ever* appear, and even the *trivial* ones just noticed *comparatively seldom* present themselves." Dr. Burns Thompson, writing to the *Edinburgh Daily Review*, says: "In respect to the extent and malignancy of these diseases, my own testimony may be esteemed of some little value. I have done professional duty for fifteen years in the districts usually supposed to suffer most from such ailments, and for ten years have stood at the head of the Edinburgh Dispensary, where I have had good opportunity of knowing the prevailing diseases, and I can only say that the representations given by the advocates of these Acts are to me perfectly unintelligible; they seem to me to be gross exaggerations." Mr. Simon, medical officer of the Privy Council, and one of the first pathologists in Europe, remarks: "IN AN IMMENSE MAJORITY OF CASES SYPHILIS IS NOT OF MORE THAN TRANSIENT IMPORTANCE TO THE PERSON ATTACKED." Mr. Acton remarks: "So rare is death from uncomplicated syphilis, that many a surgeon has never witnessed a single instance, and those attached to hospitals where venereal diseases are specially treated, have so few opportunities of witnessing *post mortems* of persons who have succumbed to them, that it becomes interesting to enquire how they produce death." The whole mortality of prostitutes at St. Lazare, the female venereal hospital at Paris, was but 16 in 1853, and 17 in 1854, and the deaths were caused by non-syphilitic affections, the germs of which they had contracted before coming into the hospital. In the year 1855 there were only 14 deaths at the Lourcine Hospital out of 1,384 patients admitted for venereal diseases, and of

these only *one* could be attributed to syphilis. In St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, which admits nearly 6,000 patients yearly, not a single female died from syphilis, although some of the worst cases are admitted to the wards, and the most accurate accounts are kept. Mr. Byrne, surgeon to the Dublin Lock Hospital, when asked before the Venereal Commission whether syphilis had increased of late years, replies : " There is not nearly so much syphilis as there used to be. Formerly we saw persons suffering from depression of the nasal bones and other accidents from this disease *almost daily in the streets* ; but no such thing is to be seen now. You will not see *such a case for years*." Mr. John Wyatt, Surgeon-Major to the Coldstream Guards, referring to his experience, says : " I can speak *most fully* to the fact that the diseases (venereal) are of a very much milder character than they used to be in former days. The class of syphilitic diseases which we see are of a *very mild character*, and in fact none of the ravages that used formerly to be committed on the appearance and aspect of the men, are now to be seen." Again he remarks : " This is the experience of all surgeons, *both civil and military*, that venereal disease has become much mitigated and of a milder type. It is an undoubted fact that the character of the disease is very much diminished in intensity."

One of two conclusions is inevitable : either the disease is not so common, or it is not so severe as the alarmists represent. Unquestionably it is not so severe, and that it is not so common the following goes far to prove : A regimental surgeon, writing to the *Lancet* for Feb. 28th, 1870, remarks, that his regiment (1,000 men) *quartered in a manufacturing town where there is no Contagious Diseases Act*, had been carefully inspected in accordance with a War Office ordinance. Not a single case of venereal disease was discovered amongst them.

Mr. Mundella, M.P. for Sheffield, brought in a factory bill and obtained a Commission, appointed by the House of Commons, to enquire into the health of factory children, and the Commissioners examined above 10,000 children throughout the United Kingdom, and reported *an almost entire absence of diathetic diseases, scrofula, rickets, and syphilis*.

A Return has just been issued by the Local Government Board (Poor Law) to the House of Commons, giving the number of *deaths* from venereal diseases, of every description, which have occurred in the Union Workhouse hospitals, throughout England and Wales, during the year 1876, and also the number of *cases* of venereal disease, of every description, in the Union hospitals during the first week in the year ; and we find that in 22 out of the 52 counties there was not a single death from any of these diseases during the whole year, and that in 430 out of the 640 Union hospitals there was not a single case of any of these diseases in the first week of the year.

As to the higher class of gentlemen who suffer from syphilis, Mr. Acton remarks : " A man may practice in this special department in London (a centre to which all bad cases gravitate) for many years without gaining any experience of the affection of the bones of the nose which cause that organ to fall in, and death from syphilis is unheard of in private practice. Rarely are the deeper structures affected, and patients generally *completely recover*, if not very injudiciously treated, within a reasonable

time." Recently in London, as recorded in the *Medical Times and Gazette*, twenty of the leading medical practitioners, each with a visiting list of from thirty to forty families daily, met and seriously discussed the following question: "Do you see the effects of syphilis in the cases coming under your care?" ALL REPLIED MOST DECIDEDLY IN THE NEGATIVE BUT TWO, and they practised in the lowest districts.

Dr. Druitt, president of the Association of Medical Officers of Health for London, stated, "That, speaking from thirty-nine years' experience, he was in a position to say that cases of syphilis in London WERE RARE among the middle and better classes, AND SOON GOT OVER;" and Mr. Skey, late president of the Royal College of Surgeons, after commenting on the rarity of true syphilis in London, and speaking of ordinary syphilitic sores, remarks, "In my opinion no disease can be MORE INNOCUOUS THAN THE LARGE MAJORITY OF THESE SORES."

After remarking that the Association for Extending the Acts had largely overcharged the horrors of the disease, he further remarks: "The public mind is alarmed; it has been coloured too highly; the disease is by no means so common or so universal; and I have had an opportunity to-day of communicating with several leading members in the profession, at the College of Surgeons, and we are all of the same opinion that the evil is not by any means so large as has been represented. I think if you took the impression of any individual on reading the reports of the Association for Extending the Acts, you would infer an extent of syphilis in society far beyond the truth—very decidedly beyond the truth—it is not so common, it is not so severe."

Of sixty-two medical practitioners in Nottingham, fifty-nine have subscribed their names to a petition and protest against the Contagious Diseases Acts, containing among other clauses the following:—

We are unanimously of opinion, which is fully borne out by the results of our practice, that the great majority of cases of syphilis are readily cured, and that, when cured, the offspring are healthy and free from taint; and we entirely concur in the opinions expressed by Mr. Skey on this point—as given in evidence before the Lords' Committee."

The above petition and protest has also been signed by thirty-five out of thirty-seven medical practitioners in Dudley, and nineteen out of twenty-two in Scarborough. These are the only two towns where an expression of professional opinion has been elicited after a due discussion of the question.

Ricord says that treatment in *an enormous majority of cases succeeds* in literally curing syphilis—indeed syphilis is capable of spontaneous cure. (See *Lancereaux*, vol. ii. p. 304.)

The following statements are taken from the returns by the Registrar-General of Births and Deaths for England and Wales:—

The total number of deaths among women from syphilis during 25 years, from 1848 to 1872, was 4,031, or 161 yearly, while the number of deaths from *ovarian dropsy* in the same period was 5,639, or 225 yearly—higher by above a third; yet *ovarian dropsy* is not thought of as a frequent cause of female mortality.

In order still further to judge of the alleged prevalence and severity of syphilis, we may compare the mortality from 13 well-known diseases, the importance or trifling

nature of which is familiar to everyone. For one of them—viz. small pox—special legislation of a stringent character has been adopted; but, if such special legislation should be proposed for any of the others, to be enforced by imprisonment with hard labour as in the C.D. Acts, such a proposal would be scouted with the contempt it would deserve. These 13 diseases are arranged below in the order of their fatality, the figures shewing the number of deaths to every million of inhabitants throughout the country.—*Regist. Gen. Rep. 1871, p. 243.*

	1024	per Million Inhabitants.	
Small Pox	822	"	"
Scarlet Fever	509	"	"
Apoplexy	459	"	"
Whooping Cough	429	"	"
Cancer	411	"	"
Measles	386	"	"
Liver Diseases	323	"	"
Water on the Brain	121	"	"
Rheumatism	109	"	"
Childbirth	77	"	"
Syphilis	66	"	"
Suicides	50	"	"
Thrush		"	"

Thus it appears that measles, for which it is scarcely thought necessary to send for a doctor at all, kills about five times as many people yearly as syphilis—and that rheumatism, which is commonly said "not to kill," carries off nearly twice as many as venereal disease. That more women by one-half die yearly in child-bed than the entire mortality from this so-called "fearful disease," and that nearly as many people cut their throats annually, or in some other way commit suicide, as die from syphilis; and the list is closed by the insignificant disease called thrush, which kills more "innocent children" yearly, than the disease about which such exaggerated statements are made by the advocates of these Acts.*

Dr. F. Weber, of St. Petersburg, who had for four years the direction of the wards set apart for patients affected with venereal disease in that city, conducted a series of investigations with a view of ascertaining how far syphilis acts upon the fœtus, and after a careful comparison with cases of pregnancy in the general wards of the hospital, he comes to the conclusion, "that syphilis has, of *all affections*, the least amount of influence in causing premature births."—(See *Lancet*, vol. ii. 1869.)

If syphilis were the terrible, loathsome, and fatal malady described, is it possible to conceive that physicians and surgeons of the greatest experience in the treatment of these affections, and with a full knowledge of their effects, would willingly subject themselves to experiment by inoculating the disease upon their own persons, and on

*The average Annual mortality from hereditary syphilis during the 25 years from 1848 to 1872 inclusive (assuming the population of England and Wales to have averaged 22 millions throughout this period), was 41 per million, while the deaths from thrush during the same period were 50 per million.

the bodies of others free from taint? And yet the former has been frequently, and the latter occasionally done. John Hunter, one of the greatest surgeons that ever lived, deliberately inoculated himself with syphilis. Dr. Bell Taylor says, that one of his acquaintances in Paris covered his arm with syphilitic sores by inoculation, merely to study some points in their nature and pathology. Auzias Turenne inoculated himself over and over again; and Lindwern is said to have inoculated himself many times. Mr. Boeck, the Norwegian surgeon, saturates his syphilitic patients with syphilis by inoculation repeated 20 and 30 times over. It has been seriously proposed by Dr. Auzias Turenne, that all male children should be inoculated with syphilis in infancy, in order to render them impervious to it from vicious indulgence at a later period of life. (And for a record of 23 cases of inoculation of healthy persons for experiment, see *Lancereux*, vol. ii. p. 220). We never hear of scientific men, however enthusiastic, inoculating themselves with cancer, leprosy, hydrophobia, typhus, scarlet fever, or any other severe malady.

Against these testimonies must be set the evidence of Sir James Paget, Sir William Jenner, and Mr. Prescott Hewett, before the Royal Commission: "That it would be difficult to overstate the amount of damage that syphilis does to the population."—(Sir J. Paget.) "I do not know any disease that is more terrible to my mind than this."—(Mr. P. Hewett.) And the more detailed evidence, as to its transmission to the offspring of infected parents, by Sir Wm. Jenner. We think, however, that we have given sufficient evidence to justify our remarks about the "selected" evidence in page 21 of this Address.

Venereal diseases are more malignant in hot climates than in England, and we should look for the worst manifestations of disease in such climates as that of India. A recent report of the Sanitary Administration of the Punjaub, an immense district, shows, however, what exaggerated notions as to the prevalence and malignancy of these affections in such climates have been circulated. The Sanitary Commissioner A. C. De Renzy, Esq., surgeon, in his annual report to the Government, remarks: "The injurious effects of the venereal disease have been greatly exaggerated, whether considered as a cause of inefficiency, invaliding, or mortality, and relatively to other causes which affect the army in this respect, *venereal disease* may be regarded as of very *secondary, almost insignificant, importance*." He continues: "A reference to the tabular statements will show how extremely improbable it is that any very large proportion of those affected with syphilis, *transmit this disease to their offspring*. In five years there were *only* 16 admissions for secondary or *inherited* syphilis among the children of European soldiers, out of an average strength of 4,529 children yearly, *that is less than one in a thousand*; and the result of five years observations may be stated thus:

EUROPEAN SOLDIERS' WIVES.

Admissions from venereal diseases 26 cases out of 17,829.

Deaths from venereal disease 0 out of 528,

i.e. only one case in 700 was venereal disease communicated to an innocent wife, and there was not a single death in five years.

EUROPEAN SOLDIERS' CHILDREN.

Admissions from venereal diseases 16 cases out of 19,157

Deaths from venereal disease..... 2 out of 1,922

i.e. less than one child in a thousand suffered from inherited venereal disease, and only one death in a thousand was due to this cause.

EXTREME PROPOSALS BY THE ADVOCATES OF SUCH LEGISLATION AS
NECESSARY FOR ENSURING ITS SUCCESS.

The continually repeated failure of such legislation to obtain the desired sanitary results has urged its advocates to still more and more extreme proposals, in the vain hope of accomplishing, by police measures and external repression, what can only be attained by moral influences and self-restraint, and we shall conclude this Appendix by mentioning some of the most prominent of these proposals.

In France, where the system has been tried longest, M. Lecour can only suggest still stricter police espionage and coercive measures, and we have already mentioned the 13,373 arrests of women made in 1873 for infringement or evasion of his regulations, and the proposal to subject to police supervision all single women living in lodgings in Paris.

Dr. Auzias-Turenne dwelt, at the Vienna International Congress, upon the importance of inoculating all males with syphilis as a safeguard for the future; and Dr. Cohen, at the same Congress, advocated circumcision of all male infants with the same view. This International Medical Congress of Vienna, in 1873, officially resolved upon a proposal, to be submitted to all the governments of Europe, to which, however, it was feared that England would prove an obstacle. The proposed plan was to be rendered effective by international treaties between the different states, and among other recommendations considered necessary for success were the following:—

The administration of the suggested law is to be solely in the hands of the central government; municipal and provincial authorities are not to be trusted with carrying it out. All bodies of subjects—such as soldiers, sailors, policemen, civil servants in the employ of government, men and women working in factories, domestic servants, and all concourses of people, such as fairs, markets, pilgrimages, &c., are to be subject to strict medical examinations.

The fullest printed directions, in reference to the treatment and prevention of such diseases, as the result of unlawful intercourse, are to be disseminated in every possible way among adults—male and female.

Nothing that can imply censure or humiliation is to occur in the measures to be taken for admitting such diseased persons into hospital, or treating them when there; and, as prostitutes are often fickle and difficult to deal with, it has been proposed, in addition, that they shall be coaxed into hospital, and humoured while there, and the medicines shall be made exceptionally palatable when possible.

That all expenses shall be paid out of the government taxes, by which local checks upon expenditure and local objections will be prevented; and lastly, that "*a sufficient number of medical men shall be employed, and handsomely paid,*" for working the system.

In England the examinations of the prostitutes are made once a fortnight, and if the women do not attend, they are sent to prison with hard labour. In Berlin they are, or were quite recently, "beaten with a stick" in addition. But all Continental writers are agreed, that once a fortnight is simply absurd, and worse than absurd, if safety is the object, as there is a delusive impression of safety, though there is ample opportunity for becoming diseased in the interval; and, therefore, Ricord and others say the examinations must be instituted every three days; but Lancereaux adds, "*This interval is doubtless still too long. The women must be examined every two days at least, and all that are suspected must be detained. Moreover, multiplying the visits is not enough; it is important to prevent deception, and to avoid everything which may render difficult the medical diagnosis, which purpose can only be effected by keeping the women for some hours in a place devoted to that object.*" (See *Lancereaux*, vol. ii. p. 275.) In fact they must be herded like cattle, under the supervision of a policeman, in order to prevent deception. Mireur urges the daily examination of women in the following terms:—

"The weekly examination, we shall be told, is at present so distasteful to the women, that the greater number of them seek to avoid registration with the one motive of escaping this degrading ordeal; and, we shall be asked, is it not to be feared that in future the obligation to hold themselves ready for a daily repetition of it, will become for them so insupportable a servitude, that it will lead to the depopulation of the brothels, and to the increase of clandestine prostitution? This fear is unfounded. The women of the public brothels submit blindly to every sanitary prescription and rule imposed upon them; *they know that, in making the last sacrifice of their modesty,* they have sacrificed also their freedom, and their will is annihilated before the will of the administration. Their role, their part in life, becomes absolutely passive from the hour that they cross the threshold of the brothel, and there is nothing left for them but to obey; therefore, they will submit themselves to daily—as they now do to the weekly—inspections."

He adds (page 366), that if these more stringent obligations should prove irksome to the *brothel-keepers*, and induce them to abandon their occupation, he would be the last to urge such obligations; for "the regulated and authorised brothel is the keystone to the system"

It is hard to say which is the most revolting—the proposal to prostitute medical science in daily examinations for such a purpose, or the cold-blooded indifference with which M. Mireur speaks of the "last sacrifice of modesty" by these wretched women—the abject slavery to which they are condemned, and the unresisting and appalling callousness with which they apparently submit to it.

With all this machinery, disease increases in Paris; and with that modified amount of it which is all that the British public will as yet tolerate, the total result is as follows:—

IN 1871, THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORTED THAT THERE WAS NO DIRECT EVIDENCE OF SANITARY BENEFIT FROM THE ACTS; AND THE EXTENDED EXPERIENCE OF THEIR OPERATION SINCE THAT DATE, HAS ONLY CONFIRMED THIS ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THEIR FAILURE AS SANITARY MEASURES, which we now commend to the consideration of the citizens and the Medical Profession of the United States of America.

The following tables, compiled from the Army and Navy Reports and Capt. Harris's Report, are frequently referred to in the foregoing Appendix:—

TABLE SHEWING THE ANNUAL RATIOS OF SECONDARY SYPHILIS IN THE WHOLE BRITISH HOME ARMY.

NOTE.—The Army Reports make no distinction between the Stations under the C. D. Acts and those not under them as regards Secondary Syphilis.

Year	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866 Date of Acts	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	*1873
Ratio of Secondary Syphilis per 1000 men.....	32.68	34.63	35.9	35.0	29.6	24.72	25.1	31.6	26.2	25.4	20.3	24.26	Fallacious.

TABLE SHEWING THE ANNUAL RATIOS OF PRIMARY SYPHILIS AND GONORRHOEA IN THE 14 STATIONS EVENTUALLY BROUGHT UNDER THE C. D. ACTS.

	No Acts at all.				Acts gradually applied.					In full force.				
Ratio of Primary Syphilis per 1000 men...	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	† 1873
Gonorrhoea	146	142	117	107	102	95	87	91	8	66	54	52	54	Fallacious.
	1.9	139	138	120	118	115	116	132	134	106	98	115	104	„

TABLE SHEWING THE ANNUAL RATIOS OF PRIMARY SYPHILIS AND GONORRHOEA IN THE 13 STATIONS NEVER UNDER THE ACTS.†

	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873
Ratio of Primary Syphilis per 1000 men..	134	120	100	107	111	101	79	102	98	123	99	67	100	Fallacious.
Gonorrhoea	139	118	138	120	110	140	114	116	99	100	83	86	83	„

* Army Report, 1873, p. 12.

† See Note, page 77.

‡ From 1867 to the end of the Table, these numbers do not correspond with those in the Army Report for 1873, p. 12, because in the Army Table London was not included before 1867, but was added in that year. The Table here given shews the ratio in the same 13 Stations throughout, without the addition of London in the middle of the Table.

TABLE SHEWING THE RATIOS OF VENEREAL DISEASES IN THE NAVY PER 1000
OF MEAN STRENGTH SINCE THE ACT OF 1866.

STATION.	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	COMBINED DISEASES.	HEALTH POSITION.
HOME.												
Prim. Ven. Sores	53.4	44.1	37.1	42.1	38.4	35.8	43.8	39.5	36.4	33.5	86.0	7th.
Gonorrhoea	20.4	22.2	32.4	38.7	48.9	50.3	64.6	51.1	52.5	52.5		
MEDITERRANEAN.												
Prim. Syphilis..	24.0	30.0	47.5	38.5	36.2	34.5	52.9	42.4	45.6	63.0	113.6	9th.
Gonorrhoea	14.8	15.6	18.7	25.9	26.2	29.5	47.4	31.9	40.2	50.6		
NH. AMERICAN & WEST INDIAN.												
Prim. Syphilis..	56.1	37.5	68.0	35.1	39.0	39.5	39.9	30.0	22.7	22.5	65.4	4th.
Gonorrhoea	15.4	20.0	26.9	35.1	25.7	27.1	29.3	25.3	30.3	42.9		
S. E. AMERICAN.												
Prim. Syphilis..	30.0	30.9	15.5	6.4	13.4	7.5	16.6	26.9	16.2	39.6	96.2	8th.
Gonorrhoea	13.3	15.0	15.5	6.4	5.9	11.3	34.8	26.9	8.1	56.6		
PACIFIC.												
Prim. Syphilis..	70.2	96.8	54.7	75.9	38.5	73.1	77.5	47.0	30.6	40.9	80.5	6th.
Gonorrhoea	18.8	27.8	34.5	36.9	44.7	41.7	49.0	29.4	19.6	39.6		
W. COAST AFRICA.												
Prim. Syphilis..	35.7	22.0	20.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gonorrhoea	32.1	15.1	27.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
W. C. AFRICA & C. GOOD HOPE.				1869*			1872**					
Prim. Syphilis..	..	..	..	21.3	11.9	13.0	21.0	21.5	21.8	17.0	45.0	1st.
Gonorrhoea ....	..	..	..	54.3	52.9	43.8	50.7	26.7	30.0	28.0		
C. GOOD HOPE & EAST INDIAN.												
Prim. Syphilis..	71.8	58.3	45.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gonorrhoea	29.1	26.3	20.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
EAST INDIAN.												
Prim. Syphilis..	..	..	..	60.4	1870† 74.4	22.3	1872†† 25.2	45.0	47.8	34.1	62.1	3rd.
Gonorrhoea ....	..	..	..	30.8	39.4	12.9	20.6	42.2	42.4	28.1		
CHINA.												
Prim. Syphilis..	94.8	100.9	1868† 112.1	91.4	103.7	57.3	104.4	107.1	106.3	67.9	162.7	10th.
Gonorrhoea	26.4	30.6	45.7	51.1	49.5	38.6	64.4	58.4	57.6	94.8		
AUSTRALIAN.												
Prim. Syphilis..	31.9	42.1	21.6	18.4	9.4	13.4	39.0	53.3	40.2	23.0	58.0	2nd.
Gonorrhoea	15.9	28.4	24.8	44.7	38.8	63.4	47.2	55.3	40.2	35.0		
IRREGULAR.												
Prim. Syphilis..	72.8	75.4	43.4	42.4	39.8	31.1	32.6	45.9	38.4	31.9	67.6	5th.
Gonorrhoea	40.1	30.3	34.5	39.4	30.1	32.7	38.5	39.2	49.4	35.7		

* Acts in force in Capetown and Simon's Bay. ** Repeated. † Acts in force in Bombay.

†† Repeated. ‡ Acts in force in Hong Kong and Yokohama.

Stations highly protected by C. D. Acts—Home, Mediterranean, China.

Stations partially protected—North America and West Indies, Pacific.

Stations not protected, or very slightly—South-East America, West Coast of Africa and Cape of Good Hope, East Indies, Australia, Irregular.

ANNUAL RATIO PER 1000 MEN OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SYPHILIS COMBINED.
Navy Report, 1874 and 1875.

Year	No Acts.				1865	Acts passed. 1866	Acts gradually extended.			Acts in full force.					
	1861	1862	1863	1864			1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
Ratio	100·4	108·6	104·3	96·6	97·1	69·1	59·	53·	54·9	53·2	51·	62·1	54·8	48·6	45·8

The Navy Reports do not contain the ratios of Primary and Secondary Syphilis separately before 1866, so that they cannot be compared separately before and since the Acts.

***ADMISSIONS INTO HOSPITAL PER 1,000 OF MEAN STRENGTH FOR
 PRIMARY VENEREAL SORES, IN THE 14 STATIONS
 UNDER THE C. D. ACTS.**

From 1860 to 1872, after which the Army Returns are fallacious.

This Table is compiled from the statistics for Primary Venereal Sores for 1860, '61, '62, and '63, kindly furnished by the War Office for the purpose of completing this Table, and from the Army Reports for 1863, p. 258, and for 1872, p. 8, 9.

STATIONS under Acts.	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	Date when Act applied.
Devonport & Plymouth...	159	199	146	124	110	133	82	75	66	74	58	50	59	10 Oct., '66
Portsmouth...	158	167	130	107	121	113	100	116	86	62	51	41	40	8 Oct., '66
Chatham and Sheerness...	106	102	90	94	88	86	83	71	63	41	47	65	49	6 Nov., '66
Woolwich...	186	138	133	96	80	76	89	88	46	52	43	58	60	6 Nov., '66
Aldershot...	128	147	116	110	105	160	81	81	77	63	67	65	62	12 April, '67
Windsor	Combined with London.						58	136	93	67	78	96	1	April, '68
Shorncliffe...	131	122	65	81	82	68	57	42	77	60	100	30	33	24 July, '68
Colchester...	169	134	158	130	118	107	173	145	182	85	42	32	55	27 Jan., '69
Winchester...	121	99	159	101	111	72	46	52	104	101	61	29	57	6 Jan., '70
Dover	152	159	103	98	90	67	90	132	111	80	30	24	47	19 Jan., '70
Canterbury...	82	142	106	136	68	77	117	119	114	45	152	38	43	21 Jan., '70
Maidstone...	106	34	22	83	37	177	139	242	122	128	68	44	57	15 Feb., '70
Cork	120	118	109	96	73	86	49	72	61	73	68	55	62	June, '68
Curragh	171	143	169	122	129	97	77	104	85	81	56	35	50	Dec., '69

From this table it appears that the Annual Rate of Improvement was much greater before the Acts than after them in Plymouth, Portsmouth, Woolwich, and Aldershot, four of the largest Military Stations, and containing about one-third of the British Army at Home—for the Annual Rate of Improvement was in Plymouth 8 per cent. before the Acts, and 4·7 per cent. after them; in Portsmouth 7·8 per cent. before and 6 per cent. after; in Woolwich 8·7 per cent. before and 5·5 per cent. after; in Aldershot 6·6 per cent. before and only 4·6 per cent. after the Acts were put in force. In Cork the ratio of disease has been uniformly higher than it was before the Acts, was applied—and also in Windsor. In Canterbury and Maidstone, two small stations,

*Comparative Tables and Statistics of the Military Stations under the Acts, with those *not under the Acts*, are given in the "Statement" addressed to the Home Secretary by Dr. Nevins; published by W. Burgess, Ranelagh Chambers, Liverpool; and Churchill & Sons, London. Price 1s.

the great yearly fluctuations of disease both before and since the Acts, render comparison useless. On the other hand, in Chatham which is a large station, and Shorncliff a medium station, the improvement has been greater since the Acts, viz., 3·6 per cent. before and 6·8 per cent. since, in Chatham, and 9·7 per cent. before and 14·2 per cent. since, in Shorncliff. These leave four stations, viz., Colchester, Winchester, and Dover, small stations, and the Curragh Camp a large one. *In none of these places was there any hospital to which the diseased prostitutes could be admitted*, previous to the Acts being put in force, and in these four stations the fall in disease was very rapid after this accommodation was provided; but it will be observed that disease was higher in 1872 than in 1870, in Colchester and Dover, and nearly as high in Winchester and the Curragh. Taking the four stations together the ratio was higher by 20 per 1,000 in 1872 than in 1870, shewing that the improvement had not been maintained after the first great fall in disease, on the establishment of hospitals in which the prostitutes could obtain treatment.

REGISTERED PROSTITUTES.

TABLE SHEWING THE ANNUAL RATIO PER CENT. OF DISEASE AMONG THE REGISTERED PROSTITUTES, FROM CAPTAIN HARRIS'S REPORT, 1876.

Year	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876
Ratio per cent. of disease	122	141	203	195	148	135	147	142	137	127	129·5

TABLE SHEWING THE ANNUAL RATIO OF DEATHS PER 1000 WOMEN FROM 1865—THE YEAR BEFORE THE C. D. ACTS CAME INTO OPERATION—TO 1875.

Year	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876*
Deaths per 100 women	9·8	15·5	10·4	10·4	16·7	16·8	20·6	21·5	16·4	23·0	15·0	10·5

PROOFS OF THE IMPUTATION AT PAGE 53, THAT THE ACTS-POLICE FRAME THEIR RETURNS OF JUVENILE PROSTITUTION ACCORDING TO THE PURPOSE THEY HAVE TO SERVE.

Captain Harris's Annual Report always dwells upon the moral benefits from the C. D. Acts in the reduction of juvenile prostitution on the one hand, and the number of young girls saved from ruin by the police

*NOTE.—On examining this Table, it will be observed that the lowest ratio of deaths is in 1865, before the Act enforcing periodical examinations was passed. In 1866, the first year of these examinations, the ratio rose suddenly, and the following year it fell again to a point a little higher than before the examinations commenced. From this date, the ratio gradually and steadily rose for 7 years (with the exception of 1873) to 23 per 1000. This remarkable and steady rise has attracted great attention since the year 1874, when it was prominently dwelt upon as proof of the injurious influence of the C. D. Acts upon the health of the women subjected to these periodical examinations, and from that date the ratio has dropped—not gradually, but suddenly in two years—down to its early amount. The ratios are all obtained from Captain Harris's Reports, which had been published up to 1874 without attention been attracted to this point. It is from his Reports alone (which are ostentatiously in favour of the Acts, and which there are no means of checking or confirming) that this remarkable fall in the ratio of deaths is gathered, as having occurred since the increased ratio has attracted attention. By promptly removing women from the register if there is any reason to apprehend death, the ratio would naturally be reduced. Our readers must, however, form their own opinions as to the probable explanation of this remarkable fall.

under the Acts, on the other. In order to accomplish this double object it is necessary to shew in the yearly tables (No. 2) of prostitutes that there are none under such and such an age; but in the tables (Nos. 5-6) shewing the number saved by the police, it is necessary to shew there were several, or else so many could not have been saved. The first object is accomplished by *not putting young girls upon the register*, by which means they are able to say that there are no juvenile "common women" (or *registered* prostitutes) in the district; and the second by making one table of "young girls found in improper places or bad company," who were saved by the police "before it was *certain* they had commenced a career of vice," and another table of young girls "who had actually commenced immoral practices," *but were not registered*. It is evident, therefore, that it is absolutely in the power of the police to make it appear that there are no juvenile prostitutes, simply by not registering them, while they can still claim credit for reforming several by saying that they have induced them to give up their "immoral practices."

The following illustrations are taken from the last two reports issued by Captain Harris, viz., for 1875 and 1876:—

ALDERSHOT (1875), table 2, had only *three* prostitutes between *sixteen* and 18 years old, but the police claim (tables 5 and 6) to have saved *six* between *fifteen* and 18. In 1876 it had not one under *seventeen*, but the police claim to have saved five between *fifteen* and 18.

DEVONPORT (1876), table 2, had not a single prostitute under *seventeen* for three years, but in 1875 alone the police claim to have saved no less than 36 under *fifteen* years of age, and 18 under the same age in 1876.

DEAL (1875), table 2, had not one under twenty-one years of age, but they claim to have saved no less than four under that age.

SHEERNESS (1876), table 2, had not a single prostitute under *nineteen*, but the police claim (table 5) to have saved two under *fifteen* and two more under *eighteen*.

SOUTHAMPTON (1876), table 2, had not one prostitute under *seventeen*, but in table 2 the police claim to have saved one under *fifteen* who "had commenced immoral practises," but was not registered, and two more between 15 and 18 years of age.

These examples may suffice.



[ADVERTISEMENT.]

British, Continental and General Federation.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS,
SEPTEMBER, 1877.

An International Congress will be held at GENEVA, in September, 1877,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

"BRITISH, CONTINENTAL AND GENERAL FEDERATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF
GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION,"

From Monday, 17th Sept., to Saturday, 22nd Sept., inclusive.

The object of the Congress is to contend against the social evil of Prostitution, especially under the forms in which it presents itself as a legal or officially-tolerated institution.

The Congress will be divided into five Sections, viz.:—(a) *Hygienic*—(b) *Morality*—(c) *Social Economy*—(d) *Preventive, Rescue, and Reformatory Work*—(e) *Legislation*.

The deliberations of the Congress will be public. None but Members of the Federation will take part in the discussions in the Sectional Meetings, excepting those strangers who may be specially invited; but the discussions at the General Meetings will be free to all who desire to take part in them.

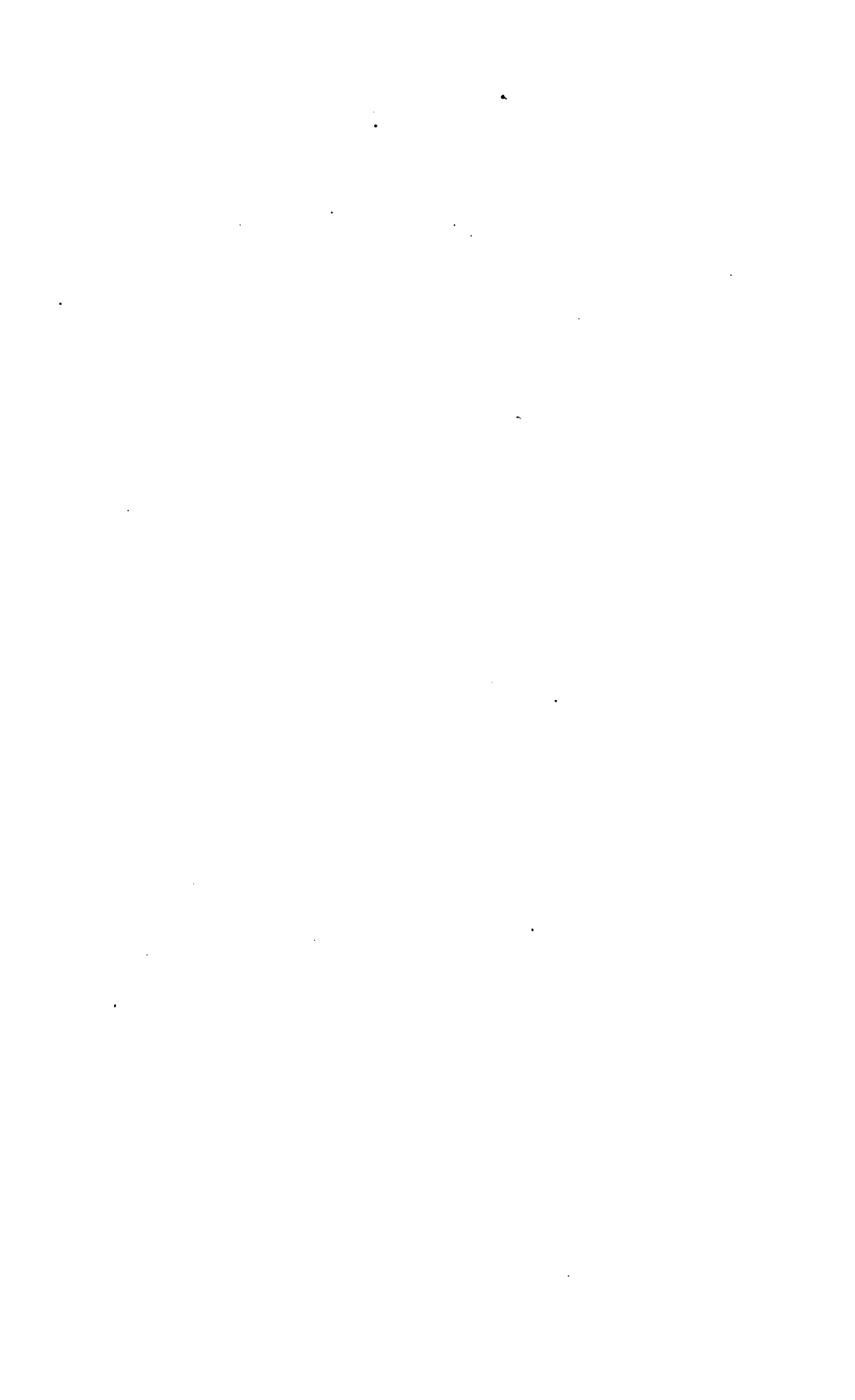
In the GENERAL MEETINGS the official language will be French. Apart from the Reports and written Papers, the time allowed to each speaker will be twenty minutes, including, in the case of his speech being translated, the time so spent. In the *deliberations of the Sections* the languages used will be French, English, German and Italian, and the Interpreting Secretaries will there translate only the propositions discussed or the main points of the speeches.

Public Corporate Bodies or Private Societies will have the right of being registered as adherents, and of taking part in the Meetings through one or several delegates.

The proceedings of the Congress, including Papers, Reports and Discussions, will be published.

A Local Committee at Geneva will provide information as to lodgings, &c., for Members of the Congress.

Further information will be furnished, on application, by Mrs. BUTLER, 348, Park Road, Liverpool; Professor STUART, Trinity College, Cambridge, Honorary Secretaries of the Federation; or by M. AIME HUMBERT, Professeur, Neuchâtel, Switzerland, Principal Continental Representative of the Federation.



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